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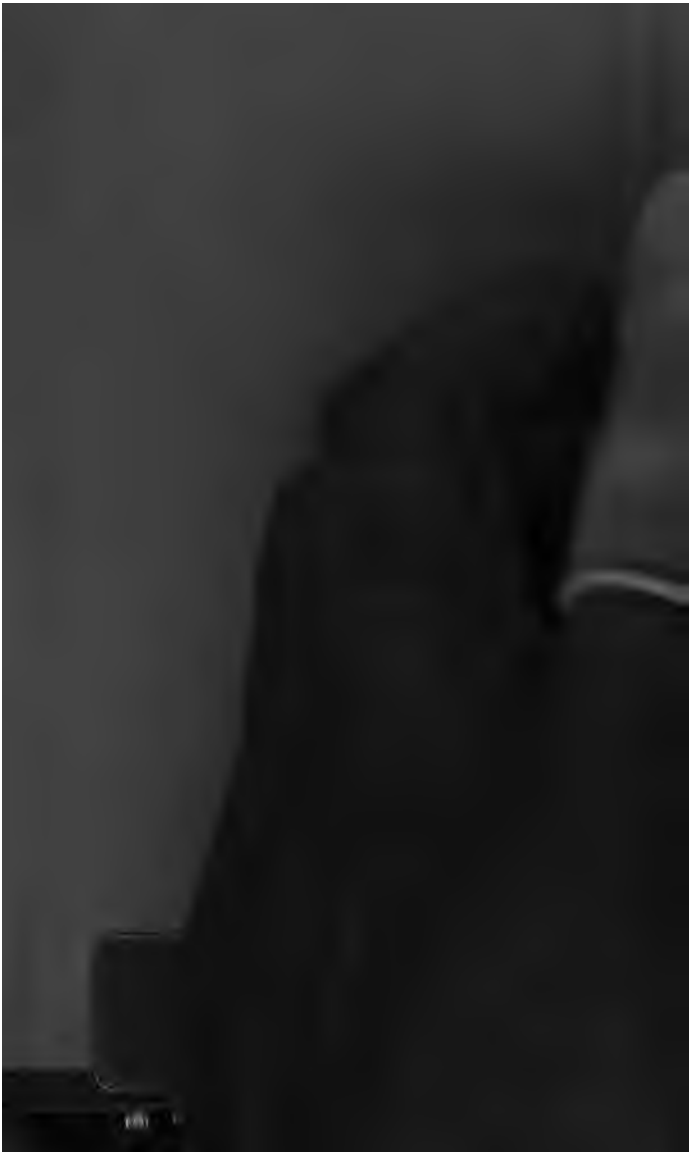

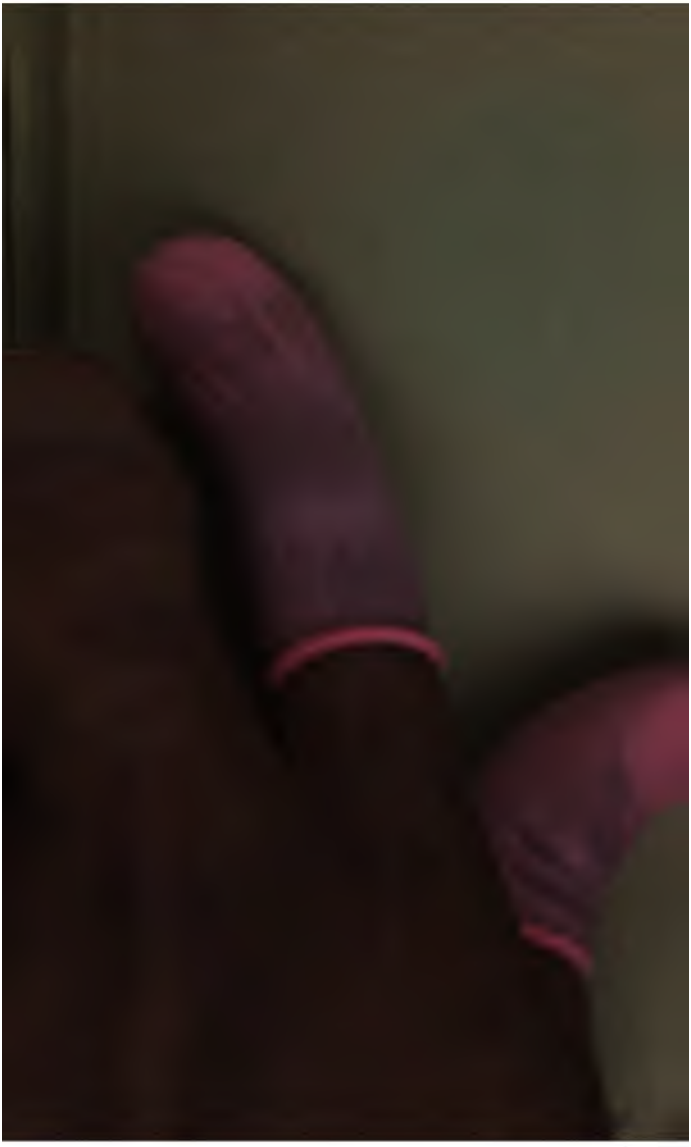

A

HISTORY OF EUROPE,

During the

MIDDLE AGES.

VOL. I.

L. Barbauld del. E. Finden

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1833.

TABLE OF KINGS.

TABLE I.

KINGS OF THE OSTROGOTHS.

Names.	Began to reign. A. D.	Names.	Began to reign. A. D.
Theodoric	489	Ildebald	540
Athalaric	529	Eraric, Totila	541
Theodatus	534		
Witiges	536	Teja	552

TABLE II.

KINGS OF THE LOMBARDS.

Alboin	569	Grimoald	662
Clef	573	Pertarit (restored)	671
Authar	544	Cunibert	678
Agilulf	591	Lieutbert	700
Adalvald	615	Ragimbert, Aribert II.	701
Arivald	625		
Rothar	636	Aliprand, Lieutprand	712
Radoald	652		
Aribert I.	653	Ildeprand	736
Pertarit, Godebert	661	Rachis	744
		Astolf	749

Desiderius, *or* Didier, 759, *with whom, in* 774, *ended the dynasty.*

TABLE III.

CARLOVINGIAN KINGS OF ITALY.

CHARLEMAGNE, *the Conqueror of Didier,* 774—781.

Pepin (under Charlemagne)	781	Louis II.	849
Bernard	812	Charles II.	875
Louis le Débonnaire	814	Carloman	877
Lothaire	820	Charles	879

In 888, *this last prince was dethroned, to make way for the following:* —

TABLE IV.

FUGITIVE KINGS OF ITALY, FROM THE HOUSE OF CHARLEMAGNE TO THAT OF SAXE.

Name.	Began to reign. A. D.		Began to reign. A. D.
Berenger I., duke of Friuli	888,	elected emperor	- 915
Guido, duke of Spoleto -	889,	———	- 891
Lambert, son of Guido -	892,	———	- 892
Arnulf, king of Germany -	892,	———	- 896
Louis III., king of Provence	900,	———	- 901

The following were unusually fleeting:—

Rodolf, king of Burgundy - - -	- 921
Hugo, count of Provence - - -	- 926
Lothaire - - - - -	- 931
Berenger II., marquis of Ivrea - -	- 950
Adalbert - - - - -	- 950

*The emperors of Germany, who were also kings of Italy, will be found in the tables prefixed to the Second Volume. So also will the catalogue of the popes, from the irruption of the Lombards to the reign of the emperor Charles V.**

TABLE V.

KINGS OF NAPLES AND SICILY.

1. *Norman Line.*

COUNTS.

Roger I.	- 1072—1101	Roger II.	- 1106—1129
Simon -	- 1101—1106		

In 1129, Roger II. assumed the regal title.

KINGS.

Roger II.	- 1129—1154	William II. (the Good)	- 1166—1189
William I.† (the Bad)	- 1154—1166	Tancred	- 1189—1194
		William III.	- 1194—1194

* To draw up an *accurate* list of the popes, will require great learning and criticism: we have not authorities enough to prepare it for the present volume.

† Reigned two years with his father.

2. *Line of Hohenstauffen.*

Name.	Began to reign. A. D.	Name.	Began to reign. A. D.
Henry I.	1194—1197	Conrad	1250—1254
Frederic I.	1197—1250	Manfred	1255—1266

3. *Line of Anjou.*

Charles I.	1266—1282

In 1282 *happened the massacre of the French in Sicily, the inhabitants of which called Pedro of Aragon to their throne, while that of Naples continued to be filled by the princes of Anjou.*

TABLE VI.

KINGS OF SICILY ONLY.

Line of Aragon.

Pedro I.*	1283—1285	Martin I.	1402—1409
Jayme I.†	1285—1295	Martin II.	1409—1411
Frederic II.	1295—1337	Fernando I.	1412—1416
Pedro II.	1337—1342	Alfonso I.	1416—1458
Louis	1342—1355	Juan I.	1458—1479
Frederic III.	1355—1377	Fernando II.‡	1479—1516
Maria	1377—1402		

TABLE VII.

KINGS OF NAPLES ONLY.

1. *Line of Anjou.*

Charles I.	1266—1285	Charles II.	1285—1309

2. *Line of Anjou and of Hungary.*

Robert	1309—1343	Ladislas	1386—1414
Joanna I.	1343—1381	Joanna II.	1414—1435
Charles III.	1381—1386	Réné d'Anjou	1435—1443

* The *third* Pedro of Aragon. † The *second* of Aragon.
‡ This prince became king of Naples in 1503.

3. *Line of Aragon.*

Name.	Began to reign. A. D.	Name.	Began to reign. A. D.
Alfonso I.	1443—1458	Frederic II.	1496—1503
Fernando I.	1458—1494	Fernando III., king of Sicily and of Spain	1503—1516
Alfonso II.	1494—1495		
Fernando II.	1495—1496		

From this period, with the slight interruption occasioned by the wars of the succession in Spain, the crowns of Naples and Sicily have remained in the house of Spain.

TABLE VIII.

SOVEREIGNS OF MOHAMMEDAN SPAIN.

1. *Ancient Dynasty.*

Abderahman I.	755	Hixem II.	976
Hixem I.	787	Suleyman	1012
Alhakem I.	796	Ali	1015
Abderahman II.	821	Abderahman IV.	1017
Mohammed I.	852	Alcassim	1018
Almondhir	886	Abderahman V.	1023
Abdalla	888	Mohammed II.	——
Abderahman III.	912	Hixem III.	1026
Alhakem II.	961		

2. *Dynasty of the Almoravides.*

Yussef ben Taxfin	1094	Taxfin ben Ali	1144
Ali ben Yussef	1107		

3. *Dynasty of the Almohades.*

Abdelmumen	1147	Yussef Abu Yacub	1213
Yussef Abu Yacub	1163	Abul Melic Abdelwahid	1223
Yacub ben Yussef	1178	Abdalla Abu Mohammed	1224
Mohammed Abu Abdalla	1199	Almamun Abu Ali	1225

4. *Kings of Granada.*

Mohammed I.	1038	Mohammed III.	1302
Mohammed II.	1273	Nassir	1309

Name.	Began to reign. A. D.
Ismail I.	1315
Mohammed IV.	1325
Yussef I.	1333
Mohammed V.	1354
Ismail II.	1359
Abu Said	1360
Mohammed V. (restored)	1362
Yussef II.	1391
Mohammed VI.	1396
Yussef III.	1408
Mohammed VII.	1423
Mohammed VIII.	1427
Mohammed VII. (restored)	1429
Yussef IV.	1432
Mohammed VII. (again restored)	——
Mohammed IX.	1445
Mohammed X.	1454
Muley Ali	1463
Abu Abdalla	1483
Abdalla	1484

TABLE IX.

SOVEREIGNS OF THE ASTURIAS, LEON, AND CASTILE.

1. *The Asturias and Leon.*

Pelayo	718	Garcia	910
Favila	737	Ordoño II.	914
Alfonso I.	739	Fruela II.	923
Fruela I.	757	Alfonso IV.	925
Aurelio	768	Ramiro II.	930
Silo	774	Ordoño III.	950
Mauregato	783	Sancho I.	955
Bermudo I.	788	Ramiro III.	967
Alfonso II.	791	Bermudo II.	982
Ramiro I.	842	Alfonso V.	999
Ordoño I.	850	Bermudo III.	1027
Alfonso III.	866		

2. *Contemporary Sovereigns of Castile and Leon.*

CASTILE.		LEON.	
Sancho I.	1026	Bermudo III.	1027
Fernando I. (*also King of Leon*)	1035	Fernando I. (*also of Castile*)	1037
Sancho II.	1065	Alfonso VI. (*also I. of Castile*)	1065
Alfonso I. (*VI. of Leon*)	1072		

CASTILE. Name.	Began to reign. A. D.	LEON. Name.	Began to reign. A. D.
Urraca (*also sovereign of Leon*)	1109	Urraca (*also sovereign of Castile*)	1109
Alfonso II.	1126	Alfonso VIII.*	1126
Sancho III.	1157	Fernando II.	1157
Alfonso III.	1158		
		Alfonso IX.	1188
Enrique I.	1214		
Fernando III. (*also king of Leon*)	1217	Fernando III. (*also king of Castile*)	1230

3. *Sovereigns of Castile and Leon united.*

Fernando III.	1230	Juan I.	1379
Alfonso X.	1252	Enrique III.	1390
Sancho IV.	1284	Juan II.	1407
Fernando IV.	1295	Enrique IV.	1454
Alfonso XI.	1312	Isabel and Fernando	1474
Pedro	1350		
Enrique II.	1369	Juana	1504

TABLE X.

SOVEREIGNS OF NAVARRE.

Garcia I.		885	Thibault II.		1253
Sancho I.		905	Henry		1270
Garcia II.		925	Jeanne I.		1274
Sancho II.		970	Louis Hutin	also kings of France	1305
Garcia III.		1035	Philip		1316
Sancho III.		1054	Charles I.		1322
Sancho IV.	also kings of Aragon	1076	Jeanne II.		1328
Pedro I.		1094	Charles II.		1349
Alfonso I.		1104	Charles III.		1387
Garcia IV.		1134	Blanche		1425
Sancho V.		1150	Juan (of Aragon)		1441
Sancho VI.		1194	Francis		1479
Thibault I.		1236	Catherine		1403

In 1512, *during the reign of Catherine, this kingdom was conquered by Fernando the Catholic.*

* Alfonso *VII.* was the husband of Urraca, and king of Navarre: he ought not to be included among the sovereigns of Leon and Castile.

TABLE XI.

SOVEREIGN COUNTS OF BARCELONA.

Name.	Began to reign. A. D.	Name.	Began to reign. A. D.
Bera	801	Borello	967
Bernardo	826	Raymundo I.	993
Aledran	845	Berengario I.	1017
Wifredo I.	858	Raymundo II.	1035
Salomon	872	Raymundo III.	1070
Wifredo II.	884	Raymundo IV.	1082
Miro	912	Raymundo V.	1131
Seniofredo	928		

In 1137, *this county was united with Aragon.*

TABLE XII.

KINGS OF ARAGON.

Ramiro I.	1035	Alfonso III.	1285
Sancho I.	1063	Jayme II.	1291
Pedro I.	1094	Alfonso IV.	1327
Alfonso I.	1104	Pedro IV.	1336
Ramiro II.	1134	Juan I.	1387
Petronilla	1137	Martin	1395
Alfonso II.	1163	Fernando I.	1412
Pedro II.	1196	Alfonso V.	1416
Jayme I.	1213	Juan II.	1458
Pedro III.	1276	Fernando II.	1479

TABLE XIII.

SOVEREIGNS OF PORTUGAL.

Henry	1085	Pedro I.	1357
Alfonso I.	1112	Fernando I.	1367
Sancho I.	1186	Joam I.	1385
Alfonso II.	1211	Duarte	1433
Sancho II.	1223	Alfonso V.	1438
Alfonso III.	1248	Joam II.	1481
Dinis	1279	Manuel	1495
Alfonso IV.	1325		

EUROPE

DURING

THE MIDDLE AGES.

SECTION I.

SOUTHERN EUROPE.

BOOK I.

ITALY.

CHAP. I.*

POLITICAL AND CIVIL HISTORY OF ITALY.

476—1500.

THE HERULI, OSTROGOTHS, AND LOMBARDS. — LAWS OF THE LOMBARDS. — THE FRANKS. — THE GERMANS. — FORMATION OF ITALIAN REPUBLICS, OF WHICH MOST ARE SUCCEEDED BY FEUDAL TYRANNIES. — RISE AND PROGRESS OF MILAN, GENEVA, PISA, FLORENCE, AND VENICE. — THE LOMBARDS, GREEKS, SARACENS, AND NORMANS IN SOUTHERN ITALY. — ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF THE KINGDOM OF THE TWO SICILIES.

No country in Europe has been subject to so many revolutions as Italy. In its early state, consisting of many independent populations, descended from the original colonies; their successive reduction by one of

* This chapter we have extended at least fifty pages beyond its proportionate limits, in order to include that portion of the history of *Germany* which relates to Italy.

their number; now forming a powerful, next a splendid empire, its capital the metropole of half the world; soon, through the natural influence of prosperity, declining from its glorious pinnacle to a level with the most effeminate nations; protected, insulted, ravaged by the martial barbarians of the north; the successive prey of Heruli, Ostrogoths, Lombards, Greeks, Franks, Hungarians, Germans, Saracens, Normans, and Spaniards; a perpetual theatre for the contentions both of its own turbulent children and of distant nations,—its history has striking claims on the attention of mankind. But history, as a mere record of martial exploits, or of the struggles of ambition, which are every where uniform in their nature and operation, has little to interest us. To affect the understanding, it must assume a higher tone; it must exhibit, in a manner too evident to be mistaken, the inevitable relation between causes and results; it must teach lessons of wisdom to man by showing how certain institutions, or habits, must necessarily generate a certain state of society; it must expose the everlasting struggle for preeminence among the elements of which that society is composed; and show how the influence of each may be balanced so as to preserve harmony and strength,—peace at home and respect abroad. To the observing mind the history of no people, however obscure or barbarous, can be unfolded in vain. From the origin of government, and of our social relations, certain causes or principles, which, as they have their foundation in human nature, will be co-existent with society itself, have been in active operation. Truth is eternal: the experience of two thousand years ago may guide *us*, and it may guide our descendants to the end of time. Forms may change; monarchy may be subverted by aristocracy, or both may be swept away by the flood of democracy; social habits, and manners, and opinions may take their hue from surrounding objects: these are perishable accidents; but, amidst the wreck of thrones, and the disruption of the ties which bind together all human com-

munities, the calm majestic image of truth may be seen, pointing with awful finger to the lessons which have been disregarded, and stamping the characters with indelibility.

The reign of Odoacer the Mercenary, whom the Heruli raised to the throne of Augustulus, was too short to produce much effect on the character or constitution of the natives. That of the Ostrogoths, by whom the usurpers were displaced, was somewhat more remarkable. Entering the country with the forced permission, rather than the approbation, of the emperor Zeno, the titular sovereign, while professing to restore his fallen power, they were intent only on securing for themselves permanent possessions in the fertile valleys of the peninsula. As portions of the territory were won by their swords, they divided the spoil, reserving to their kings, Theodoric and his successors, a moderate domain, and a mere nominal superiority over themselves. They were the first people who mixed with the Roman inhabitants. But, above all other northern warriors, the Goths degenerated in any country peculiarly favoured by nature: in Italy, as in Spain, they exchanged their own virtues for the vices of the conquered. But in one respect the two countries exhibit a widely different aspect: in the latter the character of the natives remained on the same dead level of servitude; in the former it was certainly elevated. It is doubtless to the closer intercourse between the Ostrogoths and the Italians, that we must attribute the signs of renovation which, even in the sixth century, began to distinguish the latter, and which, in the following centuries, became so strongly marked. The sentiment of individual independence, of personal dignity, is the first and dearest to a barbarian.* He regards a community as consist- 476 to 568

* Il y a un sentiment, un fait, qu'il faut avant tout bien comprendre pour se représenter avec vérité ce qu'était un barbare: c'est le plaisir de l'indépendance individuelle, le plaisir de se jouer, avec sa force et sa liberté, au milieu des chances du monde et de la vie, &c. *Guizot, Histoire Générale de la Civilization en Europe*, Sec. 2. This work contains some grand thoughts, but its general character is *French*.

ing of so many vigorous arms, united for the acquisition of a common object, and entitled, by mutual compact, to a share in every advantage: he appoints and obeys his own chief; but he does so, not for that chief's sake, nor for the sake of his fellows, but for his own: in society he sees only the individual. On the other hand, the slave of despotism, — the subject of the emperors believed that "the world was made for Cæsar;" and, in a subordinate degree, for the various grades of the imperial hierarchy; that the great mass of mankind were doomed by fate to supply the wants and swell the pomp of power. The erect figure of the bold stranger, who felt conscious of

The might that slumbers in a single arm— *

who regarded his chiefs with a manly confidence, as his equals everywhere but on the battle field, could not fail to make a deep impression on the Italian. But as the northman, through the enervating influence of a new climate, a prolific soil, and soft habits, became unnerved, the wily successors of Constantine were anxious to regain their lost provinces, especially as some of the maritime places had saved themselves from the barbarian yoke. Eighteen years of a desultory warfare annihilated the empire of the Ostrogoths, after a stormy existence of sixty-four, under the sceptre of eight successive princes. But the imperial general, Narses, who had thus recovered a kingdom, and who governed it during many years with equal moderation and prosperity, fell under the suspicions of his sovereign, and was recalled to Constantinople. Consulting at once his safety and revenge, he secretly allured the Lombards of Pannonia into the rich plains of northern Italy.†

* "The might that slumbers in a peasant's arm."

† Historia Miscella. lib. xv. xvi. Jornandes, de Rebus Geticis, cap. 57—60. Procopius de Bello Gothico, lib. i.—iv. (in multis capitulis.) Paulus Warnefridus, de Gestis Longobardorum, lib. ii. cap. 5.

1. LOMBARDY. The kingdom of the Lombards*, stretching from the Alps to the vicinity of Rome, subsisted above two centuries, under twenty-one princes, from Alboin, the ally of Narses, to Adelchis. That it was not extended from the Alps to the extremity of Calabria, and from the Mediterranean to the Adriatic, was owing to various causes. The popes were under the protection of Greeks and Franks; several of the maritime fortresses still obeyed the emperor; amidst their almost inaccessible marshes the Venetians were laying the foundation of their sovereignty; and the provinces comprising most of the present kingdom of Naples, were under the sceptre of a prince who, though a Lombard by descent, and professedly a vassal of the iron crown, in reality scorned control.† Another, and no doubt a stronger reason, was the internal troubles of the state. Few dynasties have been so unfortunate as that of the Lombards. Alboin, its founder, had not wielded the sceptre four years, when he became the victim of domestic treason: the manner is worth relating, as characteristic of the people. During his residence in Pannonia, this valiant chief had overcome and slain Cunimond, king of the Gepidæ, whose skull, in conformity with a barbarous custom of his nation, he had fashioned into a drinking cup.‡ Though he had married Rosamund, daughter of Cunimond, in his festive entertainments he was by no means disposed to 568 to 774.

* *Longobardi*, longbeards. The deacon of Foro-Juliensis (lib. i. cap. 8.) has a delectable fable concerning the origin of the appellation, which he very fitly ascribes to Odin and Freya. Bernardino Corio (Historia di Milano, fol. 5.), alludes to it as a fact.

† See NAPLES AND SICILY, the last division in the present chapter.

‡ This custom originally came from Asiatic Scythia, and was widely diffused in northern Europe: no where was it more religiously observed than in Scandinavia, the cradle of the Lombards. Their historian avers that he had seen the cup with his own eyes: — Hoc ne cui videretur impossibile, — veritatem in Christo loquor — ego hoc poculum vidi in quodam die festo, &c. *Paulus Diaconus*, lib. ii. cap. 28.

A modern Italian historian (Botta), totally unacquainted with the manners of the north, expresses great surprise at this act of Alboin: — *La naturale ferocia pel vino e per la vittoria a oltraggio fatta insolente, lo menava a tal atto di cui non è memoria nelle storie delle più barbare nazioni*, &c. The thing was common enough, as abundantly appears from the Scandinavian records.

forego the triumph of displaying the trophy. In one held at Verona, he had the inhumanity to invite his consort to drink to her father, while he displayed the cup, and, for the first time, revealed its history in her presence. His vanity cost him dear: if she concealed her abhorrence, it settled into a deadly feeling. By the counsel of Helmich, a confidential officer of the court, she opened her heart to Peredeo, one of the bravest captains of the Lombards; and when she could not persuade him to assassinate his prince, she had recourse to an expedient, which proves, that in hatred as in love, woman knows no measure. Personating a mistress of Peredeo, she silently and in darkness stole to his bed; and when her purpose was gained, she threatened him with the vengeance of an injured husband, unless he consented to become a regicide. The option was soon made: accompanied by Helmich, Peredeo was led to the couch of the sleeping king, whose arms had been previously removed; and, after a short struggle, the deed of blood was consummated. The justice of heaven never slumbers: if Alboin was thus severely punished for his inhumanity, fate avenged him of his murderers. To escape the suspicious enmity of the Lombards, the queen and Helmich fled to Ravenna, which at this period depended on the Greek empire. There the exarch, coveting the treasures which she had brought from Verona, offered her his hand, on condition she removed her companion. Such a woman was not likely to hesitate. To gratify one passion she had planned a deed of blood — to gratify another, her ambition, she presented a poisoned cup to her lover, in the bath. After drinking a portion, his suspicions were kindled, and he forced her, under the raised sword, to drink the rest. The same hour ended their guilt and lives. Peredeo, the third culprit, fled to Constantinople, where a fate no less tragical awaited him.*

* Paulus Warnefridus, de Gestis Longobardorum, lib. ii. cap. 28. &c. Compare with Corio, Historia di Milano, fol. 9.

Most of Alboin's successors were no less unfortunate either in their lives or their end. Clef, the next monarch, was stabbed by a page; Anthar was poisoned; Adaloald was expelled from the kingdom; Rodoald fell by the hands of a husband, whom he was in the act of dishonouring; Godebert was the victim of a base treason; the death of Grimoald was suspicious; Pertaris was long in exile; Cunibert was dethroned by an ambitious subject; Lieuthbert also usurped the crown, but was at length stifled in the bath; the murderer, Aripert II., perished in a river, while attempting to flee from a prince whom he had banished; the cares of royalty forced Rachis into the cloister; Astolf was killed by a wild boar; and Desiderius, or Didier, the last prince of the Lombard line, witnessed the capture of his realm, and was himself consigned to perpetual imprisonment by Charlemagne. And of the few monarchs who retained the sceptre to the close of their natural lives, most found it an intolerable load: the wars with the Greeks or the Franks, and, still more, domestic rebellion, allowed them little respite. These melancholy facts prove that there was something extremely vicious in the state of Lombardean society, no less than in its political constitution. The power of the crown was inadequate to curb a ferocious nobility, who set all law, all justice, all humanity at defiance. In fact, they themselves were the natural lords of the country; they exercised all the powers of royalty; in the placita regni, or general assemblies of the nation, they carried whatever decrees they pleased; they were the civil and criminal judges even in the last resort; hence, as they both made and administered the laws, we need not wonder that they tyrannised over king and people.* 568 to 774.

Yet, notwithstanding these evils, the domination of the Lombards was not without glory. From the Greeks they wrested the Pentapolis, the Exarchate, and

* Paulus Warnefridus, lib. ii.—vi. (in multis capitulis). Fragmentum Longobardicæ Historiæ Paulo Diacono attributum, p. 183. Codex Legis Longobardorum, passim.

the greater part of the modern kingdom of Naples; and but for the interference of the Carlovingian princes, whom the popes, despairing of succour from Constantinople, constituted the protectors of the holy see, their banner would have floated on the remotest promontories of Otranto and Calabria Ulterior. By Pepin, Astolf was compelled to surrender both the Pentapolis and the Exarchate, not to the Greek emperors, but to the successors of St. Peter; and, though the sovereignty of these regions was never held by them, the *utile dominium*, or usufruct, was theirs. In return, the indulgence of these fathers was not withheld from the obedient sons of the church. They sanctioned the transfer of the French crown from Childeric to Pepin,—in other words, an odious usurpation,—they created their benefactors Roman patricians; and when, in 774, Charlemagne, at the instance of Adrian I., reduced Pavia, the capital of the Lombardean kingdom, consigning Desiderius, as before observed, to perpetual imprisonment, that pope was the first to hail him, as the sovereign of the new conquest, as the legitimate successor to the iron crown.*

It is in their domestic policy, in their institutions, character, and manners, that the Lombards have the best claim to our notice.

We have already alluded to the new spirit which an intercourse with the northern conquerors infused into the slavish minds of the Italians.† To none were they more indebted for a sense of social rights than to the Lombards. Fighting, not for their prince, whom they regarded as their equal, nor for their nation, the abstract duties towards which they were incapable of comprehending, but for themselves individually,—for certain

* Paulus Warnefridus, de Gestis Long. lib. vi. Continuatio ejusdem, p. 183. Anastasius Bibliothecarius, Historia de Vitis Romanorum Pontificum (in Vitâ S. Hadriani, p. 180. &c.). Eginhardus, Vita Caroli Magni, cap. 6.; necnon Annales Francorum, an. 774. Muratori, Annali d' Italia, an. 774. Baronius, Annales Ecclesiastici (ejusdem anni).

† I Langobardi superavano di forza l' Italia; l' Italia conquisto Longobardi per la influenza dei costumi e del clima.—*Botta, Storia dei Popoli Italiani*, 1.—202.

objects, which hope placed at the end of every vista,— they were always eager for the field, undaunted when on it, and ready to derive the greatest possible advantages from success. As the cities, towns, and villages of Lombardy, each with a fair territory, were won by their swords, they eagerly divided the spoil. Each of the thirty captains who fought under Alboin and his immediate successors, seized for himself an ample fief, which, with the title of dux, he governed with a jurisdiction both military and civil. To every one of his most valiant followers he assigned a certain district, as a subinfeudation, to be held by the same tenure, military service, to be cultivated by a suitable number of serfs or villeins, and accompanied by a local jurisdiction. Unfortunately for the conquered, these serfs, excepting the captives made in foreign wars, were always Italians, over whom the sceptre of the Lombards was, like their crown, one of iron *; whom they despised for cowardice and detested for dissimulation. Though the former is the more venial quality, it is seldom associated with honesty, or indeed any other virtue: where slavish fear once seizes the mind, adieu to all morality. That the Italians, for some time after the irruption of the northmen, exhibited the inevitable vices of slavery, is evident from the supreme contempt with which they are mentioned by their victors, and in a degree still more striking, from several provisions of the Lex Longobardorum, wherein the most insulting distinction is made between them and other offenders. But if the progress of regeneration was slow, it was not the less sure; the coldest bodies will in time be warmed by contiguous heat; the natives began to perceive what even tradition could not have communicated to *them*,— that social freedom, and a portion even of social dignity, is inseparable from happiness. To escape the yoke which conquest had imposed on them, many left the rich plains of Lombardy, to settle amidst the marshes

* This is figurative: the crown of the ancient Lombards was chiefly of gold.

of Venice, in the maritime cities of the Greeks, or the duchy of Beneventum.*

In the social scale of the Lombards, the highest grade was naturally assigned to the king; yet it was an elevation rather of honour than of power. His dignity was elective; his prerogatives were circumscribed; he could not enact new laws; he could not make war or peace without the concurrence of his barons; nor without that concurrence does he appear to have possessed the regal right, usual in other countries, of conferring the great fiefs. Every thing of moment was decided in the Placita Regni, in general assemblies of his kingdom, which he was compelled to convoke at least once a year; there his own right to the crown was originally recognised; there he swore to maintain the privileges of his people; there all great decrees were passed. These assemblies consisted not only of the *duces, comites,* and (as temporal barons) *episcopi,* but of the landed gentry, who, as *milites,* were obliged to accompany their feudal superior to the field, and to be present at the national deliberations. It does not appear that the great body of the milites had themselves a deliberative voice, but merely the right of suffrage, of approving or rejecting what had been deliberated, and was now proposed by the barons. Within their respective districts the dukes, in virtue of their fiefs, and the counts, as their coadjutors, in virtue of the royal delegation, also held assemblies, where local affairs were transacted, and tribunals where justice, both civil and criminal, was administered.† These were attended first by the milites of the district, who, on these occasions, had certainly a deliberative voice; next by the *Arimanni* ‡, who held no sub-infeudations, but who might have, and indeed often had, hereditary or allodial pro-

* Leges Rotharis, necnon Liutprandi, in Codice Legum Longobardorum, passim. Paulus Warnefridus, de Gestis, lib. ii. cap. 32. Sismondi, Histoire des Républiques Italiennes du Moyen Age, tom. i. chap. 2.

† Principes qui jura per pagos vicosque reddebant. — *Tacitus.*

‡ Arimanni qui bona hereditaria possident, domini minores (Eccard, cit. by Ducange, v. *Herimanni*). But many had no patrimonial property, and were stipendiary ministers of the counts. Hence their frequent designation as *pauperes.* Grotius, voc. Got.

perty, and who were the immediate military servants of the comites; and, lastly, by the *homines de Masnada*, a sort of free domestics, who depended on the milites as the Arimanni depended on the comites, and whose services were generally requited by small grants of land. But though these sub-feudatories were the companions in arms of their immediate chiefs, they had not, like the military servants of the counts, a voice in the provincial courts. Subordinate to the homines de Masnada, in a condition partly free and partly servile, were the *Aldii*, or *Aldeani* *; men, who though they had been enfranchised, still owed certain services to their patrons: in some cases these services were personal; in others they were commuted for a fixed annual payment, whether in produce or in money depended on the nature of the employment which the freedman exercised by his patron's permission. The *servi*, the lowest grade in the social scale, were not uniformly in the same condition. In most parts of Lombardy, the superior or owner was contented with exacting one third of the produce raised by their labour; but in some they were strictly *adscripti*, sometimes to the glebe, sometimes to the person; and in return for the sweat of their brows, were allowed, from the proprietor's store, from the heap which they themselves had collected, no more than what was absolutely necessary for the support of life. While on the subject of fiefs we may observe, that though on the death of the holder they generally passed to the next heir, or at least to some other male member of the family, they were not considered hereditary. They were generally conferred *during life*, nor in such case could they be revoked, unless the conditions on which they were granted were violated by the feoffee. But there is incidental evidence enough to prove that some infeudations were made for a definite period only, some even revocable *ad libitum*. So little uniformity was there in the modes of feudal tenure, that even in the same

* Aldius est libertus cum impositione operarum factus. Lindenbrog, ad Vocem.

country, and by the same superior, fiefs were granted under each of these three forms. Whether the *benefices* were not distinct from fiefs, has been the subject of much contention among the learned. One party insists that *beneficia* were lands placed at the disposal of the crown for the reward of meritorious services, and revertible to it on the death of the holder; while another makes them synonimous with the ordinary *feuda*. Great as is the uncertainty in which the whole system of infeudation is wrapt, the latter is the true hypothesis. From the express declaration of several ancient charters, we find that one term was used for the other; and that the grants made by the crown for such an object were distinguished by a peculiar epithet, — as beneficia *regalia*, or prædia *fiscalia*.*

But the state of Longobardean society will be best understood by a reference to such of the national laws as stamp it with a character of its own. It cannot be expected, nor even wished, that we should enter into an elaborate analysis of the code, especially as in a future volume we shall dwell at more length on the subject of Germanic jurisprudence.†

During seventy years after their irruption into Italy, the Lombards were governed by their ancient unwritten usages.‡ Rothar, the eighth sovereign from Alboin, was the first who commanded these usages to be collected into a code; but with such additions, alterations, and omissions as were required by a new state of things. When we consider that these laws, thus amplified and amended, are brief, and do not exceed 390 in number,

* Ducange et Carpentarius, Glossarium Manuale ad Scriptores Mediæ et Infimæ Latinitatis; necnon Lindenbrogius, Glossarium in Codicem Legum Antiquarum (sub propriis vocibus). Muratori, Dissertazioni sopra le Antichite Italiane, *dis.* xiv. & xv. Heineccius, Elementa Juris Germanici, lib. i. tit. i. et lib. ii. tit. 3. Alonso el Sabio, Las Siete Partidas. Masdeu, Historia Critica de España (España Arabe, tom. xii. Sismondi, Histoire des Républiques, vol. i. chap. i. Hallam, State of Europe, vol. i. (Feudal System).

The royal Alonso is by far the most agreeable, the most enlightened, and the most chivalrous of feudal legislators.

† See the History of Germany.

‡ Rotharis rex Longobardorum leges, *quas sola memoriâ et usu retinebant*, scriptorum serie composuit. — *Paul. Warn.*

we may form some notion of the simplicity of ancient manners, even in Lombardy,—how much greater that simplicity in a more primitive state of society! In fact, manners are more powerful than laws, which derive their origin and vigour from the former. But, however adequate the usages on which these provisions,—this paucity of pains and penalties,—were founded, to the wants of an early state of society, they could not meet those of one more advanced. Amidst the thinly inhabited hills of Scandinavia, where the employments, the habits, the relations of life, were so few and simple, they might easily suffice; but in a new sphere, in the populous plains of Lombardy, and in contact with a different people, they were lamentably deficient. Their paucity, however, was not the only evil. The rich, the powerful, the military judges of the nation, oppressed the humbler classes; and they did so with impunity, in the absence of any recognised code obligatory on the tribunals. To remedy this evil; to do away with the forced interpretation which power might ascribe to usages never, perhaps, very clearly defined, Rothar, in concurrence with his baronial judges, promulgated the edict which bears his name. But society is in everlasting movement: the laws of this first legislator were, in the sequel, found as inadequate to new wants as the unwritten customs had been. Hence Grimoald added nine; Liutprand, no less than 157; Rachis, nine; and Astolfus, fourteen.*

Small as were the powers invested in the crown, it was treated with great profession of respect. If any freeman raised a quarrel, or struck another, in the royal presence, he incurred the last penalty; if in the same *city*, he was fined. But the most singular proof of the reverence in which royalty was held, is to be found in

* Paulus Warnefridus, de Gestis, lib. iv. cap. 44. Muratori, Præfatio ad Leges Longobardicas, p. 1. Prologus in Edictum Rotharis, p. 17. Leges Grimoaldi, p. 49.; Leges Liutprandi, p. 51—84; Leges Rachis, p. 85—88.; Leges Aistulphi, 89.—93. (Omnes apud Muratorium, Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, tom. i. pars. 2.). Lindenbrog. Prolegomena in Codicem Legum Antiquarum.

the fact, that if any man, with the connivance or by the command of the king, killed another, both he and his descendants were to be held guiltless; "because," says the law, "as the hearts of kings are in the hand of God, it is impossible that *he* can be innocent whom the king commands to be slain."*

The minuteness with which compositions for crimes, —the prominent feature of all the barbaric codes,— are specified, proves the anxiety of the royal legislators to stay the bloody hand of revenge. Among all the northern nations, the deadly feud was but too well known,—a feud which extended from individuals to families, and from families to tribes; which sometimes continued for a generation, threw the state into convulsions, and weakened it by bloodshed. To make the acceptance of a pecuniary fine obligatory on the party aggrieved, was a wise, a humane, and beneficent measure. The minute graduation of these compositions to the reputed dignity of the parties, or the nature of the offence, may seem absurd enough to raise a smile in the reader; but let us consider that this extraordinary anxiety to fix a scale of compensation for every possible crime effectually prevented the infliction of all arbitrary or oppressive penalties. Thus, if one freeman (ingenuus, or liber homo), struck another in the head, so as to break the skin only, he paid six sols† for each wound under *four*; for all above three passed for nothing: so that when the offender had inflicted three wounds, knowing that eighteen sols only would be required as compensation, he was at liberty to add as many as he pleased. If a bone of the head were broken, the fine was double; viz. twelve sols for each wound, as far as the third; for thirty-six was the highest penalty that could be exacted. For the slitting of a nose, six

* Codex Legis Longobardorum, lib. i. tit. 2. l. 3. and 4.; tit. 3. l. 1. (apud Lindenbrogium, p. 516.). We prefer the codex of Lindenbrog, as in that of Muratori the laws follow each other without order; but the text of the latter is much more accurate.

† The solidus *aureus* consisted of 40, the *argenteus* of 12 denarii (Ducange ad Vocem). But the rule was not uniform, even in the same country.

sols; for that of a lip, sixteen; and, if the teeth were laid bare, twenty. For the loss of a front tooth, sixteen; of a jaw tooth, eight. The hand was estimated at half the amount of a homicide; the thumb at one-sixth; the fore-finger at sixteen sols; the long finger at six; the next at eight; the little finger at thirteen. The foot was reckoned of the same value as the hand; but the toes were not so precious as the fingers: the large one, indeed, was thought to be worth ten sols; but the second was fixed at six, the third and fourth at three, the last at two only. The loss of an eye, as may be easily supposed, was a more serious affair, being estimated at half an homicide; and, if the poor sufferer had only one eye to lose, at two-thirds. These penalties relate to freemen only: the wounds of freedmen and slaves (aldii et servi) were more easily compensated,—gerally, in the former case, at one-half or one-third, in the latter at one-fourth or even one-sixth the rates above specified. Thus, for the loss of a fore-tooth, the aldius received four sols; the servus rusticus, two. In some cases, however, as where the slave was maimed in some important member, and the value of his services thereby lessened to his owner, a very high compensation was exacted. Thus, for the loss of the great toe, the owner received as much as if the sufferer were free; while, for the aldius, less than half that sum was deemed an equivalent. That the feet of the slave were held in greater estimation than his hands, is apparent from the fact that, for the loss of his thumb, four sols only was exacted; while, for that of the aldius, eight; and for that of the freeman, a still greater sum in proportion.*

For *homicide* the composition varied from 1200 to 16 sols, according to the station alike of the murderer

* Codex Legis Langobardorum, lib. i. tit. vi. vii. and viii. (in multis legibus).

To the class of penalties respecting freemen, Charlemagne, on his accession to the crown of Lombardy, made a strange, but no doubt necessary addition: — Si quis alium presumptive sua sponte castraverit, et ei ambos testiculos amputaverit, integrum *widrigildum* suum (the same as for a homicide,) juxta conditionem personæ componat. Si *virgam* absciderit, similiter. Si *unum* testiculum, medietatem persolvat. Lib. i. tit. vi. l. 18.

and the murdered. But this punishment was at length found insufficient; the crime increased; and the confiscation of all his worldly substance was denounced against the assassin of a freeman. In some cases death only could satisfy justice. Thus, when the wife slew her husband, the last penalty was exacted; and this was the more arbitrary, as a pecuniary fine paid by the husband who slew his wife was enough to appease the offended law. For him who slew his own slave no punishment was provided; but no composition would atone for the life of the slave who assassinated a freeman.*

For *thefts* a pecuniary composition was always received, unless the offender were a slave, and his owner unwilling to pay the fine: if the offender were free, and had not the means to satisfy justice, he might be imprisoned, beaten, and branded, or reduced to slavery. Highway robbers were treated with more severity; for the first offence the culprit lost one eye, for the second his nose, for the third his life. †

Crimes against chastity were visited, sometimes too mildly, at others too severely. He who forced his own female slave, provided she were single, escaped without punishment; but if she were married, both she and her husband were enfranchised. If he forced the bondwoman of another, he was subject to the penalty of twelve, twenty, or forty sols, according to her comparative state. The ravisher of a free woman was mulcted at a much heavier sum—at 900 sols; but, if she consented to the crime, he paid 100 only, while *her* parents or brothers, whom she had dishonoured by it, could put her to death; and if they refused to do so, the royal magistrates were bound to take cognisance of the affair. If a slave presumed to marry a free woman, the doom of both was death; but the freeman might marry his maiden, provided he previously enfranchised her. Such unions, however, were regarded as disgraceful. Adul-

* Codex Leg. Longob. lib. i. tit. 9. and 11. † Ibid. lib. i. tit. 25.

tery was more rigorously visited, always with the last penalty. From the same class of offences we incidentally learn, that no woman was mistress of her own actions; she was under the *mundium*, the legal protection or control of her father, her brother, her husband, or, in their default, of the nearest male of her family, or even of the king: if she were injured, the pecuniary composition went not to her, but to the person who exercised this mundium over her; in other words, to her owner.*

From the preceding and other provisions of this code we may infer that it was less favourable to social happiness than almost any other, the Visigothic, perhaps, alone excepted. The slave would have little hope of escape from his degradation; enfranchisement was far from frequent, and the libertus was as dependent on his patron as the slave on his owner: neither could marry beyond his own caste without incurring the penalty of death; yet marriage was all but obligatory, that servitude might be perpetuated. Concubinage appears to have been very common among the laity, and marriage among the clergy, until the councils by degrees banished it from the church; the offspring of such connections, however, could not be knighted, nor fill any public office, nor even depose as witnesses in a court of justice. The patria potestas was as despotic as the authority of the lord over his slave. In certain cases the father could sell, or even kill his child, and that with perfect impunity. But this code had some advantages, which almost atone for its barbarity. Of these, the greatest was the absence of all advocates in prosecutions; in other words, of all lawyers, of men who have an interest alike in the multiplication of suits, and in the delays of process; who live by the errors and vices of society. Rude as the Lombard legislators might be, they were yet reasonable enough to require that every plaintiff should conduct his

* Codex Leg. Langob. lib. i. tit. 32., necnon in ed. Muratorii, leg. 189., &c.

Apud Longobardos quævis fœminæ *in mundio* erant, ac puellæ quidem in mundio ac tutelâ parentum, vel si deessent, cognatorum, fœminæ vero nuptiali jugo devinctæ, *in mundio* erant maritorum. — *Ducange, ad verb.* Vide *Institutiones de Tutelis.*

case, and every defendant be permitted to answer in person; they believed that every man was eloquent enough to speak the truth, and that the judge would more easily arrive at it from the simple statement of the actors, and their witnesses, than from the cumbrous, absurd, and unintelligible jargon of professional men. Hence the forms of process were natural and simple, the judgments equitable and prompt. Actions were not likely to be instituted without good foundation, when the plaintiff who could not establish his case was liable to a heavy pecuniary fine.*

To the laws of the ancient kings of Lombardy considerable additions were made by Charlemagne and his successors, but as these new provisions were for the most part identical with the Capitularies, or national code of the Franks, they need not be noticed here.†

774 to 888. The Carlovingian dynasty, as far as Lombardy is concerned, has little to distinguish it: it relates to the history of France, or that of Europe, rather than that of Italy. After some disputes with the Greek emperors, Charlemagne was acknowledged emperor of the West by that court, and a treaty of limits was concluded between the monarchs, by which nearly all Italy, was adjudged to the hero of the Franks. The popes, who had been rescued from the Greek and saved from the Lombard yoke by his arms, readily owned his supremacy; they even recognised his assumed prerogative of interfering with and confirming their own elections. By men who even then were willing that the spiritual should be held superior to the temporal power, the exercise of this imperial pretension was felt to be galling, and on several occasions the election of a new pope was precipitated, before his successors could have time to interfere. The empire which this great prince established, was subverted by their imbecility and crimes. In fact, it had no foundation in the hearts of the conquered people; it had been the work of

* Codex Legis Longobardorum, passim.
† See the laws of the Franks.

violence, and, consequently, odious to every nation which sighed for independence; nor was it likely to be regarded with much reverence, amidst the unnatural and shameful wars that followed. In times of commotion the royal authority was sure to suffer. The martial nobles, whose aid was constantly solicited by the contending parties, felt their own importance, and as the condition of that aid exacted concessions, which made a tyrant wherever there was a fief. The number of the great tyrants, indeed, was not so considerable as under the native kings. There were no longer thirty great feudatories, over as many provinces; but if, by royal concession or usurpation, half a dozen dukes or marquises, who had extended their domains to the prejudice of the rest, only remained, there was an army of inferior feudatories, with equal power and greater disposition, to do mischief.*

Of the three foreign dominations at which we have hitherto glanced—Gothic, Lombard, and Frank — the first was most favourable to individual liberty. The feudal system was not yet formed; the military chiefs were not yet invested with a civil jurisdiction; the power of the crown was not annihilated by them, nor could they trample at pleasure on the inferior classes of society. The cities preserved their municipal institutions, as guaranteed by the charters of the emperors, and by the Roman law; they had no tyrannical superior; so long as they supplied the head of the state with their contingent of men and money, they were freely left to their own internal government. The *Lombards* destroyed these municipal institutions, by subjecting the cities to the jurisdiction of the great military feudatories, the true and only tyrants of the country. At first there were dukes only, but in process of time, especially after

* Hermannus Contractus, Chronicon, p. 219., &c.: necnon Reginonis Chronicon, lib. ii. (apud Struvium, Script. Rer. German. t. i.). Eginhardus, Regum Annales Francorum, an. 774.—835. p. 233.; necnon Vita Caroli Magni, passim, (apud Duchesne, Rerum Francorum Scriptores Coætanei, tom. ii.) Ermoldus Nigellus, de Rebus Gestis Ludovici Pii, Imper. p. 883., &c. Annales Francorum Bertiniani, sub propriis annis. I quote indifferently the editions of Muratori and Duchesne.

the conquests of Charlemagne, counts and marquises were introduced, to grind, within their respective jurisdictions, all who were subjected to their authority. It is indeed true, that the royal legislators, both of the Lombards and of the Franks, permitted the people to choose by what code of laws they would be judged; that the ancient inhabitants could still invoke the Theodosian, perhaps also the Justinian code; that the Roman jurisprudence was in force long before the alleged discovery of the Pandects at Amalfi; that, in fact, it never ceased to be in force in some towns of the country. In the same manner the Franks could invoke the capitularies of their kings. But the interpretation of these laws lay with the feudal judges, who, no doubt, forced them at their pleasure, especially as appeals were not allowed to be carried from the tribunal of the dukes to that of the kings. The barons, indeed, and all who were allowed to attend the annual diet, could lay their grievance before the princes of the nation, but the numerous inferior classes, the urban and rural population, comprehending not merely slaves and liberti, but wealthy ingenui, had no remedy for the oppression of their immediate superiors. In reality, they were scarcely considered worthy of legislation. The Carlovingians were even more anxious than the native kings to augment the authority of the barons, especially of the bishops. To these ecclesiastical feudatories Charlemagne hastened to grant the *jus carceris* over the inferior members of the hierarchy; and these members — priests and monks — were wholly withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the temporal tribunals. In process of time, priors and abbots, no less than bishops, succeeded, in their respective districts, to all the functions of temporal government; and not unfrequently the same dignitary was at once count and bishop, or count and abbot. Turn our eyes on whatever side we may, we find on the one part tyrannical oppression, on the other suffering and complaint. Such a system could not continue; it could not resist external assaults; instead of uniting to defend it, the people regarded every new foreign invader as

likely to break their fetters; they were sure, at least, that their condition could not be worse; and they beheld with secret satisfaction the extirpation of their tyrants. This fact alone will account for the facility with which one domination was subverted by another. If patriotism be inseparable from social freedom, from an unrestricted enjoyment of the comforts of life, it is no less certain that grinding disabilities and misgovernment must generate hatred to existing institutions, and an abhorrence of one's country. That man is not naturally inclined to revolution, that, if his ills are tolerable, he will bear them, is proved by the history of the world. Here, then, experience teaches a lesson which rulers, however, seldom regard — that the country which secures to the people their rights will never want defenders, while the one which withholds them may become a prey to the first enemy.*

The deposition of Charles the Fat by the Germans, Franks, and Italians, left the great chiefs of Italy a theatre for intrigue. As the domination of the Carlovingians was for ever ended, and the country was divided respecting the choice of a successor, if not of a new dynasty, some of the great feudatories began to assert their respective claims. Those of Beneventum — a country to which the reader's attention will hereafter be drawn — were too much occupied with internal dissensions to enter the arena with any prospect of success: Ansgar, marquis of Ivria, and Adalbert, count of Lucca and marquis of Tuscany, were either without ambition, or too conscious of their weakness. The contest lay between Berenger, marquis of Friuli, whose estates extended from the Julian Alps to the Adige, and whose march of Treviso was intended as a frontier against the incursions of the Germans: and Guido, marquis of Spoletto, who had dispossessed the feudatories of Fermo and Camerino, and who held a considerable portion of the duchy of Beneventum. Both princes were equally powerful, both related to the imperial family of Charlemagne, and both in the same degree ambitious. Amidst 888 to 924.

* Authorities: — The Lombard and Frank historians.

the contentions for the wrecks of the empire, while Arnulf seized on Germany, Louis on Arles, Rodolf on Upper Burgundy, and Eudes on western France, both might aspire to the brilliant prize. Each allured partisans; the sword was drawn, and sixty years of bloodshed and of anarchy followed. The success was various; now Berenger reigned; now he was expelled by his rival, and forced to seek a refuge in Germany; now, returning at the head of some imperial troops, he again established himself in Lombardy. The death of Guido produced no change in the character of the warfare. His son Lambert was not without partisans, but, on the demise of this latter prince, circumstances seemed to secure the fortune of king Berenger. But if the Italians submitted to his sceptre, it was disputed by another competitor, Louis, king of Provence, who led considerable armies against him. After a struggle, however, he triumphed, chiefly through the aid of the marquis of Tuscany, and in a subsequent action he captured and blinded his rival. But if this restored outward tranquillity to his kingdom, he could not be secure against treachery. Five princes, of whom all are said to have experienced his bounty, conspired against him. Having entered into an alliance with Rodolf, king of Burgundy, to whom they offered the crown, they took up arms against him, were conquered and pardoned; but these acts of clemency, which in such an age were wonderful, had no effect on them. They followed him to Verona, and prevailed on one Flambert, a noble of that city, who had been laden with favours by the king, and whose son Berenger had held over the baptismal font, to enter into their views. On this, as on the preceding occasions, the intended victim was warned of his fate; and now, as before, he hoped to disarm enmity by generosity. He summoned Flambert into his presence, reminded him of past favours, expatiated on the enormity of the meditated crime, and ended by presenting him with a golden cup; at the same time observing, "Let this cup be a pledge between us, of

your pardon and your return to virtue: remember that your sovereign is the godfather of your son!" But on a soul which is once familiarised with the project of murder, magnanimity must be lost. Flambert feigned repentance, and the next morning, accompanied by a determined band, surrounded and stabbed his benefactor in a public street. It is some consolation to find that the murderers were immediately cut to pieces by the governor of Verona.*

The wars to which allusion has been made were not the only ones in which Berenger was engaged. The Huns or Scythians, a people still unreclaimed from idolatry, after spreading their devastations from Constantinople into the heart of Germany, in 900 poured themselves into the march of Treviso, and committed excesses, such as the country had not experienced for some centuries. Cities and towns laid in ashes — mountains of dead bodies — signalised their progress, not in Lombardy only, but from the Alps to Calabria. They were not the only scourge of the period. The Saracens, who had already wrested Sicily from the Greeks, and established themselves in the maritime coast of Naples, made destructive inroads into the country. As both made war in the same manner, viz. with light cavalry, they had a surprising advantage over the heavy horse of the nobles, and the undisciplined infantry of the cities. At first, Berenger manfully resisted, but finding his efforts to stem the tide of invasion vain, he suffered it to pursue its natural course. Fortunately for Italy, neither of these barbarian powers aimed at domination; plunder was their only object: when this was secured, the Huns retired into the forests of Pannonia, while the missionaries of the prophet betook themselves to their fortifications in the south. But from evil good is often deduced. These savage invasions laid the foundation of the future greatness of Italy; they called into existence the muni-

900 to 924.

* Luitprandi Historia, lib. i. cap. 7.—12.; et lib. ii. cap. 1.—20. The tragic fate of Berenger is well told by this author. Muratori, Annali d' Italia, an. 888—924. Annales Bertiniani, Annales Metenses; necnon Annales Fuldenses (apud Duchesne, Rer. Franc. Script. t. ii. et iii.).

cipal corporations, which not only preserved the country from subjugation, but in a great degree rescued it from the feudal yoke. Prior to these invasions the towns of Italy were without defence, and an easy prey to the first hostile attacks; they had no walls, no troops, and could only look for protection to their counts, whose forces were lamentably inadequate to the occasion. Perceiving that their lives and properties could be defended only by themselves, they began to build walls, to enrol troops, to learn the martial exercise, and soon to elect magistrates. From this humble foundation arose the majestic republics of Italy.*

924 to 961. The fall of Berenger I. was not likely to restore peace to a country so long distracted by foreign and domestic war. The worst of its evils was the insubordination of the nobility, whose aid had been purchased by concessions that annihilated the regal power, and who looked forward to strife and anarchy as the only tenure of their impunity. That aid they had sold to the best bidder: sometimes they had fought with Berenger, sometimes in the ranks of his enemies; but whenever they found that one of the hostile parties was about to sink, they never failed to support him, and thus perpetuated the war. Another reason for their conduct is, doubtless, to be found in the apprehension, that if the sovereign triumphed over his personal competitors, he might soon so consolidate the royal power as to annihilate their own. The last rival of Berenger, Rudolf of Burgundy, they permitted to reign about two years, when they transferred the crown to Hugo count of Provence, probably from a fear lest the former should become too powerful. But they had little reason to congratulate themselves on the change. The new sovereign, disregarding the laws which limited his authority, resolved to humble them to the very dust. The more powerful he divided by his money or his intrigues, and reduced them one by one to the most abject dependence on him: not a few, among

* The same authorities, to which must be added, Sismondi, Hist. des Répub. I.—28.

whom were his own immediate relations, he dispossessed of their fiefs; others he put to death. The bishops were not more fortunate than the barons: some he expelled from their seats, and replaced them by creatures of his own, who were, usually, his own bastards; others he persuaded to resign their sees, which he sold to the highest bidder. The case was the same in regard to the temporal fiefs, the holders of which had long regarded them as hereditary. At the head of a numerous body of Burgundian or Provençal troops, whom he had allured to his service, and whose fidelity he secured by liberal gratuities, Hugo had little difficulty in proving that they were revocable at the pleasure of the crown, or, at least, that they were reversible to it on the demise of the feoffees. Whether the people were treated with equal rigour, or whether, in the manner of usurpers, they were courted while their chiefs were humbled, cannot be determined. One thing only is certain, that the empire of brute force in the hands of one man, was more odious to the clergy, the nobility, and the gentry, than it had ever been while wielded by the aristocracy. Wherever the tyrant or his satellites were not present, murmurs arose: in their hopes of relief they cast their eyes on Berenger, marquis of Ivria, grandson of the monarch of that name, who, both by his birth and his promising qualities, had a claim to their affection. This disposition of the popular mind was soon penetrated by Hugo, who, convinced that in sparing the marquis, — the only one of the great feudatories whom he had not displaced — he had paid little regard to his own security, hastened to sacrifice another victim at the same unhallowed shrine. Orders were secretly given to arrest both Berenger and his consort, then far advanced in pregnancy; but both being warned of their peril, precipitately fled into Germany through the tremendous defiles of Mount St. Bernard, which, during a rigorous winter, were thought impassable.* The exile was well received by the emperor

* Luitprand (lib. v. cap. 4.) curses the mountains which opened a passage to the fugitives. He had reason, considering the future atrocities of Berenger II.

Otho the Great, who supplied him with money, and permitted him to rally round his standard such of the exiled or discontented Italians as chose to join him. At the head of a small but adventurous army, Berenger passed the frontier, traversed the march of Treviso, and on his way to Milan had the satisfaction to perceive the number of his followers swelled by so many defections from the cause of the tyrant. In that ancient city he convoked the states of Lombardy, who invested him, indeed, with the administration of the realm, but acknowledged Lothaire, son of Hugo, as their king,—Hugo himself escaping into Provence, where he soon ended his days.* The result showed that Berenger was no less unscrupulous than the tyrant he had supplanted. He exercised a despotism no less frightful, and there is reason to suspect his implication in the death of the youthful Lothaire.† Adelaide, the widow of the latter, he attempted to force into a marriage with his son, and when she turned a deaf ear alike to his entreaties and threats, he treated her with barbarity. He was soon held in no less detestation than Hugo, and an application was made to the emperor Otho to rid Italy of this second tyrant. That sovereign obeyed the call; he entered Italy, released Adelaide from a rigorous imprisonment, married her, and on his arrival at Pavia was crowned king of the Lombards. To appease him, Berenger ceded to him the march of Treviso, which at all times commanded an entrance into the kingdom, and did homage to him as his vassal. But this harmony was of short continuance: so numerous were the complaints that reached the court of Otho, that he, a second time, visited Italy, took Berenger and the queen prisoners,

* He left his immense wealth to his niece Bertha, who was forced to marry Raymund, prince of Aquitaine, impudentissimæ gentis princeps impurior, and one who seems to have been no great beauty:—and for that reason not very acceptable to the lady; cujus non solum concubitu, verum etiam osculi, indignum, elegantes formarum inspectores eum esse confirmant.—*Lusitpr.* v. 14.

† This tragedy, indeed, is only given as hearsay by the abbot Frodoard (Chronicon, tom. vi. 143., in the collection of Guizot), but Frodoard had been in Italy, and the relation besides is consonant enough with the character of Berenger II.

whom he consigned to close retirement in the castle of Bamberg, again assumed the iron crown, and soon afterwards the imperial, from the hands of pope John XII.*

To the period of the domination of the house of Saxe, Otho I. (961—973), Otho II. (973—983), and Otho III. (983—1002), is referred the origin of the municipal corporations, and the virtual independence of the cities. Though no charters are extant to prove this important revolution in the state of Italian society, since, as generally alleged, they have perished in the subsequent troubles, it may be inferred from the tone of the contemporary chronicles, which no longer speak of kings, or dukes, or counts, as directing the affairs of a city, but of *the people*, as controlling every thing. Such a state, indeed, naturally, almost necessarily, arose from the circumstances of the times. Left to themselves, the cities could not defend themselves against foreign aggression; their counts were too weak, the emperors were too distant, to aid them. By the Hungarians many of them had been laid in ashes; a similar scourge might at any time revisit them. Many had been rebuilt; in others, fortifications had been raised long before the reign of Otho the Great; but their government was defective. The magistrates, who formed the council of their counts, were more subservient to *his* will than regardful of *their* interests: they were oppressed by frequent contributions, which, in the absence of that protection due by every government to the citizens who support it, were not likely to be borne without repining. The dukes, the barons, the feudal gentry, were more intent on defending their own possesions, — their rural homes, — than a population which they regarded as vile. Hence, while the citizens were a prey to every open enemy, and were glad to redeem their liberties and lives by enormous contributions, the country, especially the hilly parts, was covered with fortresses, — the massy walls of which, being defended by their natural position, were

961 to 1002.

* Luitprandus Historia, lib. v. et vi. Hermannus Contractus, Chronicon, p. 261.—264. Chronicon Reginonis, lib. ii. p. 108. Lambertus Schafnaburgensis, de Rebus Gestis Germanorum, p. 314. Sigebertus Gemblacensis, Chronographia, p. 815, 816 Siffridus Misnensis, Epitome, lib. 1. p. 1033.

often sufficient to defy the fiercest efforts of barbarian valour. It was in this state of abandonment, that they applied to their sovereign for permission to defend themselves, and, as a consequence, to remodel their institutions for that end. It was the monarch's interest to secure the protection of his people; it was his delight to withdraw them from the yoke of an aristocracy, too powerful for even him to withstand. By the concessions solicited, he might reasonably hope to secure the support of a grateful and numerous class of subjects; and he might be pardoned for not foreseeing the results of this new policy, — that the armed communities would eventually be too strong for both kings and barons. But municipal, like national prosperity, is of slow growth. During a long period the new institutions answered the purpose of their formation, and the charters were probably conferred with caution. The two consuls at the head of each city, who, as in ancient Rome, were annually elected by the inhabitants, who were the judges during peace and the generals in war, and who thus succeeded to the authority of the counts, were long devoted to their sovereigns. At the summons of their superior, they were as ready to take the field, with their municipal force, as any feudatory of the empire. In each city were generally three councils: — 1. The council of Credenza, which was secret and confidential, consisting of few members, whose duty it was alike to advise, to assist, and to control the two chief magistrates, and whose functions were purely executive. 2. The grand, or senatorial council, much more numerous than the former, in which new laws, or the decrees for their observance, were drawn up, previous to being laid before the general assembly of the people. 3. These general assemblies, which appear to have been formed of all the male citizens indiscriminately, — as well of those who were able to bear arms as of the aged, — were, unlike the two preceding, that were always permanent, convoked on extraordinary occasions only, by the tolling of a great bell. Each community was divided into four

or six districts, the number and names generally corresponding to those of the gates which it was the duty of each division to defend. Though every citizen between the age of eighteen and sixty, or even seventy, years of age, was bound to appear in arms whenever there was a summons to that effect, that defence did not wholly rest on this general levy. Each district had its companies of horse and foot, under its own banner, both completely armed and maintained. not at their own, but at its expense; unless, indeed, as was sometimes, perhaps often, the case, the troops were rich enough to maintain themselves. Commerce and increasing industry added to the general wealth; and as wealth, or, at least, the comforts of life, were diffused, the sentiment of municipal independence was fostered and strengthened. This sentiment, as we shall soon perceive, through the inevitable tendency of human nature, degenerated into ambition.*

Great as were the obligations which the new municipalities owed to the emperors, the authors and protectors of their political existence, most of them considered, or wished them to be considered, dissolved on the extinction in the male branch of the house of Saxe. On the demise of Otho III., the troubles with which the choice of a successor distracted Germany, emboldened the Lombard states, assembled at Pavia, to elect a native sovereign. The choice fell on Ardoin, marquis of Ivria. But it was not unanimous: it was condemned by Milan, — probably for no other reason than that it had orginated with a city so peculiarly obnoxious as Pavia, — which, under the auspices of its archbishop, Arnulf, declared Henry II., the newly elected emperor, king of Lombardy. As the Germans regarded that country purely in the light of a dependent fief, war was inevitable. Henry poured his troops over the frontiers, and without opposition marched

1002 to 1024.

* Hermannus Contractus, Chronicon, p. 264.—270. Chronicon Reginonis, p. 109., &c. Lambertus Schafnaburgensis, de Rebus German. p. 315. Sigebertus Gemblacensis, Chronographia, p. 819., &c. Sismondi, Histoire des Républiques, tom. I. chap. xxviii. 6.

to Pavia, where he assumed the iron crown. In an affray, indeed, between the citizens and his followers, who appear to have behaved with equal insolence and insubordination, that splendid capital of ancient Lombardy was burned to the ground; and, though it was speedily rebuilt by the inhabitants, they vowed inextinguishable hatred to the strangers, and adhered with renewed ardour to their own prince. But Ardoin was unable to contend with so powerful an antagonist, especially as the country was divided against itself. Confined within the limits of his marquisate, he at length resigned a vain crown, and assumed the cowl. On the death of Henry, the Italians again endeavoured to shake off the German yoke; but perceiving the hopelessness of the attempt, they were glad to make their peace with the new emperor, Conrad II.*

1025 to 1152. The reign of Conrad the Salic is celebrated for its internal disturbances,—for the complete disorganisation of society. The origin of these disorders was a dispute about feudal tenures; many nobles, the archbishop of Milan among the rest, revoking the fiefs of such as were obnoxious, either personally or politically, and that too in opposition both to long prescription and to an express law of Conrad, which declared that all military benefices were hereditary in the male line, revocable only in the case of judicial delinquency. As not only the prelates and barons, but the rural gentry had their vassals, this pretension roused the whole body of the rural population, which flew to arms in defence of their rights. For some years a horrible warfare raged, knight and gentleman being opposed to baron and prelate, the laws every where despised, private revenge gratified with impunity, no safety for person or substance but in successful resistance. All who held of the great see of Milan fell on the bishop, who being defended by the armed citizens, the natural enemies of the seignorial system, succeeded in expelling them from the capital.

* The same authorities, and, in addition, Arnulphus, Historia Mediolanensis, lib. i. cap. 15. & 16.; and Muratori, Annali, A. D. 1025.

But as their numbers increased Lodi declared for them, and on the plain of Campo-Malo they triumphed over the haughty Heribert. To appease these angry contentions, Conrad passed the Alps, and arrested the archbishop, with other prelates, who had disregarded the imperial constitution; but, as they were guarded with little care, his aim being rather to soothe than to irritate, to prevail by persuasion rather than by force, they escaped, and stirred up the population of their respective sees to open resistance. A third and novel enemy now appeared,—the *vavassins*, who held of the knights and vavassors, or smaller gentry, and the serfs subordinate to all three, both asserting their claims to entire independence of their immediate superiors. Thus, while the different classes of society were hostilely arrayed against each other, the barons and prelates against the king, the knights and vavassors against the barons, and the serfs against all, and while the emperor was so continually occupied by his German affairs, as to be unable to finish the contest which he had commenced, the demon of evil reigned uncontrolled. Probably, the very excess of anarchy led to a pacification; for, on the death of Conrad in 1039, we find the various parties at peace. But if these wars themselves were temporary, their results were lasting and important. The knights and vavassors, and even many of the barons, were so disgusted with the pretensions of their feudal superiors, their minds were so exasperated by the recent struggles, that they placed themselves and their fiefs under the protection of the municipal communities, and attained in return both the rights of citizenship, and admission to the magistracy. By this novel compact other advantages were mutually gained. The nobles acquired real protectors, which their old feudal superiors had never been; they were invested with a distinction which, as vassals of the barons, they could never have enjoyed; and the civil offices of the magistracy were not gratuitously filled. On the other hand, the municipalities gained a body of defenders hereditarily brave and fully disciplined,—

a force beyond comparison superior to the hasty and often cowardly levies of the burghers: and they were consequently enabled to resist their natural enemies, the feudal barons, who, issuing from impregnable holds, often plundered their merchants, ravaged their fields, and spread devastation to their very walls. These advantages, indeed, were sometimes counterbalanced by divisions between the two orders. The nobles never forgot their birth and calling; they despised the citizens whom they were called to rule or to defend; and the resentment of the latter often brought the two parties into collision. Thus, when a knight at Milan was imprudent enough to strike a plebeian in the open street, the citizens, agitated by the remembrance of numerous wrongs, rose as one man to vindicate themselves, deposed their noble magistrates, whom they expelled, and whose strong habitations they ultimately levelled with the ground. In return, the latter summoned their vassals, and blockaded the city during several succeeding years, when a compromise was effected between the two orders,—the nobles, as the condition of their readmission, consenting to share the municipal functions with the people. But with all these drawbacks, the communities advanced in the career of prosperity. During the reigns of the third (1039—1056, the fourth (1056—1106) and the fifth Henry (1106—1125), princes who were too much occupied by their disputes with the popes respecting investiture, and by the rebellion of their vassals, to bestow much attention on Lombardy, the cities not only consolidated their power, but began to show that democracies are no less subject to the demon of ambition than kings and nobles. Under Lothaire II. (1125—1138), who was at once distracted by the schism in the popedom, and by rival candidates to the empire; and under Conrad III. (1138—1152), whose absence in the Holy Land prevented him from visiting Italy, to receive, like his predecessors, the imperial crown from the hands of the successors of Peter the fisherman, that power became

too formidable either for their own peace or for the security of their secular neighbours.*

In this career of guilty ambition, the two hostile cities, Milan and Pavia, had already led the way. Though only twenty miles asunder, their hatred was deadly. Each wished to be regarded as the head of Lombardy;—the former, in virtue of its extent, its wealth, and its ancient cathedral; the latter, of its ancient dignity as a capital. At first they did not directly turn their arms against each other; but, preparatory to the great struggle which both saw to be inevitable, each endeavoured to procure allies in the neighbouring republics,—for so might be termed all the municipal towns, since, though they acknowledged the emperor as their superior, they all possessed their own magistrates, their own institutions and government. The same spirit of aggrandisement pervaded the smaller states: thus, in 1100, Cremona laid siege to Crema; in 1107, Pavia assailed Tortona, while Milan advanced against Lodi and Novaro. The places thus menaced besought aid from one of the two great rival cities: thus, Crema and Tortona placed themselves under the protection of Milan, while Cremona, Lodi, and Novara formed a contrary league. Brescia, through jealousy of Cremona, sided with Milan; Asti, through a similar hatred of Tortona, joined the league of Pavia. In regard to the more distant republics, Parma and Modena were generally the allies of Milan, while Placenza and Reggio belonged to the opposite league. The situation of Milan exposed her, much more than that of Pavia, to the hostilities of her republican neighbours; if Como, Novara, Lodi, Cremona, and Bergamo were too feeble to oppose her singly, united they could inflict considerable in- 1100 to 1152.

* Wippo, de Vita Chunradi Salici Imperatoris, p. 463, &c. Landulphus senior, Historia Mediolanensis, lib. ii. cap. 20—32. Arnulphus Mediolanensis, lib. ii. cap. 180. Hermannus Contractus, Chronicon, p. 275—300. Lambertus Schafnaburgensis, de Rebus Gestis Germanorum, p. 317—424. Marianus Scotus, Chronicon, p. 648—656. Dodechinus Abbas, Appendix ad Mariani Scoti Chronicon, p. 657—676. Sigebertus Gemblacensis, Chronographia, p. 831—833. Siffridus Misnensis, Epitomata, p. 1036—1039. Muratori, Annali d'Italia (sub propriis annis). Sismondi, Hist. des Répub. Ital. tom. i. passim.

jury on her territory, by cutting down the corn, destroying the fruits, and laying waste the abodes of the peasantry: in fact, no harvest could be secured without a multitude of armed men. To divide these little states, and, above all, to prevent them from receiving aid from Pavia, was the constant aim of this great city; and when that aim was ensured, her ambition seldom knew any bounds. In 1107, she laid siege to Lodi, which during four successive seasons made a brave resistance, and did not fall until provisions and men were alike exhausted: the victors, with true republican rigour, levelled the walls to the ground, and reduced the people to the most abject condition. The war against Como was more memorable: in 1118, the Milanese moved forward with their heavy caroccio, or war-chariot, which carried their banner, and was defended by the bravest of their number, against that devoted place. This war has been sung by a contemporary native of Como, who compares it to that of Troy. There were, indeed, points of resemblance: it lasted ten years; several states were, it is said, in confederacy with Milan to hasten its destruction; and the utmost valour was exhibited by the besieged. The points of dissimilarity, however, were more numerous; among which the most striking is the difference between our bard and Homer.* But his countrymen were heroes; they defended the place unto the last extremity, and then silently abandoned it by night, to entrench themselves in a neighbouring fortress: their valour procured them an honourable capitulation.†

1152 to 1158. It was not against her immediate neighbours only that Milan waged war: as her success, and consequently her ambition, increased, she had the courage to maintain a contest with the empire itself. On the elevation of Lothaire II., the head of the Guelphs, to the im-

* This poem, which is as long as two books of the Iliad, is in the fifth volume of Muratori. Though it abounds with strange barbarisms, it is not without imagination. The author was well acquainted with Virgil, of whose spirit he has sometimes a transient spark. Tiraboschi (Storia della Letter. iii. 502.) had evidently not read him.

† Landulphus junior, Historia Mediolanensis, cap. 34. Anonymus Cumenus, de Bello Mediolanensium adversus Cumenses, p. 413, &c. Corio, Historia di Milano, fol. 34. Muratori, Annali, A. D. 1118—1127.

perial throne, she had espoused the interests of Conrad, duke of Franconia, one of the Ghibelin chiefs, and placed on his head the iron crown.* And though on the accession of Frederic Barbarossa, who was related alike to the princes of the factions, there was a cessation of the dreadful civil broils that had so long distracted the empire, Italy was doomed to become the theatre of events no less signal. In the second year of his reign, while that celebrated monarch presided over a diet at Constance, two citizens of Lodi, who had survived the cruel conflict with the Milanese, made a way, each with a cross in his hand, through the crowd of princes and nobles, and kneeling before the imperial throne, pathetically prayed for the restoration of their republic. Their tears affected both the emperor and the diet, and an order was despatched to the authorities of Milan to repair the injustice of which that state had been guilty. The mandate was trodden under foot by the exasperated populace, and the messenger himself with difficulty escaped with his life. Like the other corporations of Lombardy, they had acknowledged Frederic, and sent him the gratuity usual on every accession; but they resolved to support their right to make war or peace, or to extend their conquests, against all his force. At the head of his vassals, he soon arrived on the plain of Roncaglia, where, according to ancient custom, he opened the Lombard states. On this occasion, the complaints of the marquis of Montserrat, and other feudatories, sufficiently indisposed the emperor against the new republics. Those of Lodi and Como incensed him greatly against Milan, the deputies of which were also present in obedience to his summons, and not slow to vindicate their cause. In the dispute which followed, Crema, Brescia, Placenza, Asti, and Tortona espoused the side of Milan, while Pavia, with Cremona and Novara, naturally opposed her. The ill-will of the emperor was deepened by the failure of the Milanese to furnish his

* See the Chapter on Germany, in vol. ii.

army with provisions in his march; in wrath he ordered their consuls to leave his camp, levelled with the earth the castle of Rosato, one of their dependencies, and abandoned to his soldiers the richest productions of their plains. He did more; he inflicted a signal chastisement on the cities which were in alliance with Milan,—not, probably, so much on account of that alliance, as that they had shown the same disposition to disturb the tranquillity of the province. In revenge, the Milanese, who were now resolved to shake off even the semblance of obedience, despatched a select force to the aid of Tortona, which the emperor was besieging, and which stood out two months; and when the place was reduced, the expelled inhabitants found a refuge in Milan. On the departure of Frederic, the Milanese rebuilt Tortona, notwithstanding the opposition of the Pavians; they commenced aggressions on the cities and feudal barons who had continued faithful to the imperial cause; and they renewed their alliance with Brescia and Placenza, with the avowed purpose of rescuing Lombardy from the German yoke—with the real one of subjugating it for themselves. Again did the emperor enter the province to chastise them. Though Brescia forsook them, they resolved to withstand the terrific contest; but they had not long sustained the horrors of a siege, when they submitted on conditions more favourable than they could have expected. By restoring liberty to the inhabitants of Como and Lodi, by swearing fidelity to the emperor, by consenting to pay a considerable sum by way of indemnification, and renouncing some of their more obnoxious pretensions, they obtained the confirmation of their privileges, especially the important one of electing their own consuls.*

* Robertus de Monte, Appendix ad Chronicon Sigeberti, p. 884. Anselmus Gemblacensis, Chronicon, p. 967, &c. Siffridus, Epitomata, lib. i. p. 1039. Gothofridus Viterbiensis, Chronicon, pars xvii. Otto Frisingensis, de Gestis Frederici I., lib. ii. cap. 14, &c. Radevicus Frisingensis, Appendix ad Ottonem, lib. i. cap. 34, &c. et lib. ii. cap. 1, &c. Otto Morena, Historia Rerum Laudensium, p. 958, &c. Sire Raul, sive Radulphus Mediolanensis, de Rebus Gestis Frederici I. in Italiâ, p. 1154, &c. Mutius Chronicon Germanicum, lib. xvii. p. 774, &c.

After this signal success, Frederic held another diet at Roncaglia, where he revoked many of the concessions which his predecessors had made, especially of the jura regalia, the right of peace and war, of coining money, &c., so long alienated from the Lombard crown. Yet he left some important privileges to the municipalities,— the election of their own government, the choice of their local laws, the profits of their own industry,—reserving to himself a capitation tax from each individual, and a slight annual contribution from each of the corporations. But this diet is still more memorable for an innovation which the emperor introduced into the administration of justice. As with him, in virtue of his suzerainty, rested all appeals in the last resort, and as he justly observed that the hearing of so many cases would occupy the whole of his life, he introduced a new dignitary, the *podesta**, one over each diocese, and the choice of whom he reserved to himself and his successors. The new magistrates, as the creatures of the sovereign, and the advocates of absolute power, were soon brought into collision with the local consuls, the asserters of popular rights, whose authority the imperial magistrates were eager to diminish. In the wars which followed, the emperor destroyed the consular office, which he every where replaced by the podesta's. It might have been expected, that wherever the people were triumphant, they would remove this obnoxious innovation; but though they restored their favourite magistrates, they retained the podestas; the election of whom, however, they took into their own hands.†

The Milanese, the proudest, bravest, and most tur- 1159 bulent of republicans, were not likely to remain satisfied to with the resolutions of this diet, especially when they 1161. found that Frederic, in the wantonness of power, was encroaching on their remaining privileges; that he was even circumscribing their territory. They recom-

* *Podestas*, idem qui *Potestas*. — *Ducange*. The dignity was well known in Spain (vide Usatici Barcionensium, necnon Codicem Aldefonsi Sapientis) and in France. (Ducange, ad vocem.)

† Chiefly the same authorities.

menced hostilities; seized one of his garrisons, which he had placed to overawe them; and unsuccessfully assailed Lodi, which had been rebuilt on a new site. Frederic soon hastened into Italy, placed Milan under the ban of the empire, and laid waste its territory. In this contest, all the republics of Lombardy, Crema, and Brescia excepted, ranged themselves on his side: hence, though the fate of that rash city might be protracted, it was certain. Crema was first invested, and was defended not only by the inhabitants, but by select bands from the two republic allies. In this siege, the emperor exhibited a barbarity little worthy of his name. Some children of the chief houses in that place he held as hostages: these he placed in a tower, which he moved towards the walls, thus exposing them to the weapons of their parents and kindred; but the diabolical expedient failed; the ties of nature were less powerful than patriotism; and after a few of these innocent victims had perished, the tower was drawn back, and the survivors released.* After a noble defence of ten months, the place surrendered; the inhabitants being permitted by the emperor, who was generally clement towards the vanquished, to carry away their most precious effects, and to retire wherever they pleased: at the same time the fortress was utterly destroyed; none showing so much alacrity in the work of destruction as the Cremonese, the hereditary enemies of the Cremascans. And here it may be observed, that none of the Lombardian republics were so hostile to the empire as to each other: on the contrary, they often professed vassalage to it, while they were in arms against both its acknowledged head and their obnoxious neighbours. The fall of Crema only urged the Milanese to renewed vigour in their defence. As Frederic espoused the part of a schismatic pope (Victor III.), and was in consequence excommunicated by the one (Alexander III.) whom the church subse-

* Neque eos sanguinis et naturalis vinculi communio, neque ætatis movebat miseratio. — (*Radevicus Frising.* II—47.) One of the parents, with spirit far above that which animated the Spartans of old, is said to have exhorted the children to die manfully for their country.

quently recognised, they were elated by the reflection that they were fighting no less for religion than for liberty. Their ardour was raised by the departure, from the camp of their enemy, of his best and most numerous warriors: a feudal army could not be kept together after the expiration of its limited term of service. But Frederic, assisted by his chief Italian feudatories, in whom the hope of vengeance was more powerful than the love of ease, remained in Lombardy. During the campaign of 1160, he sustained a defeat; but in the following, being rejoined by his German vassals, he had the advantage in every case: the proud republic was closely invested; its provisions intercepted; and it was compelled to surrender at discretion. In vain did the citizens implore pardon; they had offended beyond the possibility of obtaining it; after some suspense, they were ordered to forsake the city, which was soon levelled with the ground. This destruction,—so utter that scarcely one stone rested on another,—was effected by the Italians alone—by six neighbouring republics, one to each of the six gates.*

The fall of Milan seemed for ever to rivet the chains with which Frederic had bound the formerly free cities of Lombardy; but liberty, alloyed as it had been by democratic licence, was too sweet not to be remembered with regret. The tyranny of the podestas added to the existing discontent. To their heavy exactions the emperor was no party; but he was frequently absent; and even when he was present his moderate views were unknown to himself, thwarted by his ministers. Verona, Vicenza, Padua, and Treviso,—cities which had previously been tranquil,—exasperated by perpetual wrongs, and probably instigated by promises of support from Manuel Comnenus, who then filled the throne of

1162 to 1183.

* Anselmus Gemblacensis, Chronicon, p. 273. Siffridus Misnensis, Epitomata, p. 1039, &c. Mutius, Chronicon Germanicum, lib. xvii. Otto Morena, Historia Rerum Laudensium, p. 1021, &c. Otto de Sancto Blasio, Chronicon, cap. 13—15. Radevicus Frisingensis, de Rebus Frederici I. cap. 36, &c. Robertus de Monte, Appendix ad Sigeberti Gemb. Chron. p. 890. Epistola Burchardi Notarii Imperatoris ad Nicolaum Abbatem, p. 915—918.

Constantinople, entered into a league to circumscribe the imperial prerogatives. They were immediately joined by the Venetians, who appear to have had no grounds of complaint against the emperor, and whose interference in this case was owing to their dread of imperial preponderance. To crush the incipient insurrection, Frederic, who was then in the western parts of the kingdom, assembled troops from Pavia, Novara, Cremona, and other places, and marched on Verona; but he had soon reason to distrust their fidelity: he found that the spirit of freedom had seized even on them; and, instead of hazarding a battle, he passed into Germany to collect an army on which he could rely. Affairs of greater moment than the fate of a province detained him beyond the Alps long enough to enable the Lombards to strengthen themselves, both by fortifying their towns, and by drawing closer the bonds of their alliance with his enemies. In 1167, a diet, held in a monastery between Milan and Bergamo, and attended by deputies from Cremona, Bergamo, Brescia, Mantua, Ferrara, and the dispersed Milanese, laid the foundation of the famous Lombard league, the object of which was the conservation of their privileges, against all enemies, foreign or domestic. The regulations framed for their confraternity were approved by oath; and it was then agreed, that, in return for the devotion of the Milanese to the cause of liberty, their city should be rebuilt. The resolution was carried into effect, and the emperor had soon the mortification to learn that his old enemy was again in a condition to oppose him. Lodi, after an obstinate resistance, was forced into the league; Venice, Verona, Vicenza, Padua, Treviso, Placenza, Bologna, Parma, and Modena, sent in their adhesion to it. While these formidable preparations were hastening, the emperor was in Central Italy, occupied in a useless war with Alexander III.: a pestilence appeared among his troops; he retreated to Pavia, whither, in obedience to his summons, four cities only sent deputies. Having placed the revolted places under the ban of the empire, and laid

waste the Milanese, he passed into Germany in search of reinforcements. During his absence, three of the four cities which had hitherto been faithful to him, joined the league; so that Pavia and the marquis of Montferrat were now his only adherents. To cut off the communication between these powers, the leaguers built a new city, Alexandria, which they fortified with great care. Probably the emperor was unable to prevail on the German diet to send immediately a new army into a country which had hitherto been the grave of their nation: during some years, the archbishop of Mayence, whom he appointed his vicar in Italy, tried what intrigues could effect among the Genoese, the Pisans, and the Tuscan states. This prelate had the address to raise some forces, and to secure the neutrality of Venice while he besieged Ancona,—a city which, by entering into alliance with Manuel Comnenus, had excited the wrath of his master; but, after a vigorous defence, he was compelled to raise the siege. In 1174, Frederic himself returned with an army numerous as the preceding. He invested Alexandria, and pressed the siege amidst the rigours of a severe winter; but, at the end of four months, the place was relieved by the confederates, and he was compelled to retreat on Pavia, the only city which remained steadfast to his cause. After an ineffectual attempt at negotiation, he again tried the fortune of arms, and sustained a signal defeat at Lignano; nor was it without extreme difficulty that he could reach Pavia in disguise. Humbled by his repeated disasters, he now sincerely turned his thoughts towards peace. A truce of six years was signed at Venice, through the personal exertions of the pope; and, at the conclusion of this period, the peace of Constance defined the claims of the two parties, and restored tranquillity to both Germany and Italy.*

* Anselmus Gemblacensis, Chronicon, p. 974—990. Romualdus Archiepiscopus Salernitanus, Chronicon, passim. Sire Raul, de Rebus Frederici I. p. 190, &c. Radevicus Frisingensis, lib. ii. (in ultimis capitulis). Otto de Sancto Blasio, Chronicon, cap. 17—26. Magister Bonocampagnus, de Obsidione Anconæ, p. 926, &c. Caffari, et Ottobonus Scriba, Annales

1183. By this celebrated treaty, the confederated cities acquired not only the regalian rights which had formerly belonged to the crown, but the confirmation of such as they had usurped during their long-continued struggle with Frederic: they could henceforward raise armies, construct or repair fortifications, and exercise both civil and criminal jurisdiction within their respective walls; their possessions confiscated during the war were restored; and all infeudations made to their prejudice were revoked. On the other hand, though the election of their consular and other magistrates was confirmed, the former were bound to receive their investiture from an imperial legate; and in each city a judge of appeal was appointed, to decide in civil suits where the amount exceeded a certain sum: from its entrance into Lombardy, the imperial household was always to receive the accustomed *foderum*, or provisions, forage, and lodging; the roads and bridges were to be kept in repair; and the oath of fidelity to be taken by each city every ten years. Not the least important of the imperial concessions was the confirmation of the right of confederation whenever the Lombardian republics might judge its exercise necessary for the security of their common privileges.*

476 to 1183. In running over the seven centuries from the irruption of the Heruli to this treaty with Frederic Barbarossa, one fact must have powerfully struck the reader,—the remarkable difference in the national character at each of these periods; the Italian of the fifth and sixth is no more like the Italian of the twelfth century, than the Hindoo is like the Briton. Human

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Genuenses, lib. ii. et iii. Corio, Historia de Milano, parte i. passim. Sismondi, Histoire des Répub. Ital. tom. i. cum multis aliis.

* The members of the confederation were *Vercelli, Novara, Milan, Lodi, Bergamo, Brescia, Mantua, Verona, Vicenza, Padua, Treviso, Bologna, Faenza, Modena, Reggio, Parma,* and *Placenza.*

The following formed no part of the league, though they obtained the same privileges, and were designated as *allies* of the empire: *Pavia, Cremona, Como, Tortona, Asti, Alexandria, Genoa,* and *Albi.*

Ferrara was to be allowed two months to signify its adhesion to the treaty, from which *Imola, Castro San Cassiano, Bobbio, Grabedona, Feltro, Belluno,* and *Ceneda* were excluded.

Venice, as independent of the empire, was not present.—*Sismondi,* i. 429.

character, whether national or individual, is the creation of circumstances; that of the Italians, as we have before observed, received its impress from an intercourse with the northern conquerors. Under their emperors, they had been taught to regard individual security as inseparable from social union;—that, alone, men could do nothing either to avert evil or to procure good; and that the happiness, no less than the strength of states, consisted in the aggregation and adhesion of its members. Hence they were willing to sacrifice the independence which nature gives,—the right of self-guidance,—to submit their wills to the impulsion of one common mind; to forsake individual liberty, and become an integral part of a system. If they were thus taught to regard as their first duty the good of the whole, they were yet sensible that, in that whole—in that close combination of social elements—lay the welfare of each. There was, indeed, a time when their forefathers relied as much on individual vigour, and as much prized individual freedom, as any people in Europe; but that was in a primitive state, too far removed into the depths of antiquity to leave any remembrance behind it. The despotism of the emperors had annihilated this feeling; and by exacting on all occasions the sacrifice of each man's wishes to the control of a common head, had transformed them into slaves. But the Scandinavian or the German was a widely different animal. From time immemorial, his own arm had pierced the wild beast of the forest; his own dexterity had ensnared the bird or the fish; his own sword had won him captives to cultivate the ground: hence, as his subsistence, his happiness, his importance among his fellows, were his own work; he had learned self-confidence, self-respect, self-dignity. In the ordinary course of life, he needed not the help, he would not therefore obey the will, of another. It was only when a foreign expedition was to be undertaken, or when the country which he inhabited was threatened by powerful enemies, that he understood the utility of a social compact,—the necessity of

many submitting themselves to the guidance of some brave or experienced leader. But that compact was voluntary; that leader he himself had chosen; nor was his obedience, his self-abnegation, required elsewhere than on the field of battle, or for a longer period than was necessary to gain some covenanted end, — that end being individual advantage. When established on the plains of Lombardy, on the ground which his own valour had won, he still maintained his native independence. If he was subject to military service, it was only to defend or to augment his present possessions. He delighted not in towns, because *there* must be a government, and all civil government he regarded as an encroachment on natural right, as an insult on natural dignity: hence he dwelt in his rural domain, where no superior could thwart him, and where he could exercise an authority almost boundless over his serfs. The contempt with which he beheld the natives who every where bent to the yoke, who had always been slaves, and had consequently no self-abnegation to make, is evident from the laws with which he coerced them, and which every where insultingly distinguish the two people. But though his dignity was thus gratified by isolation from the world, circumstances at length demanded the sacrifice of a portion. After the dissolution of the empire which he had assisted to form, the successive irruptions of Arabs, Hungarians, and Saracens (the last were many years in Piedmont, Modena, and the neighbourhood of Genoa), convinced him, that strong as might be the fortress he inhabited, it could hardly fail to become the prey of the barbarians. Hence, the erection of towns, with strong and lofty walls, as a place of refuge at least, whenever an overpowering enemy should approach. At first, indeed, these fortified places were almost wholly peopled by the freedmen, the mechanics and tradesmen, and the smaller landed proprietors. The baron, who had reared his castle amidst the fastnesses of the mountains, would often escape attack, or smile at its failure against the massive

bulwarks around him. But if he and his men at arms, his military dependents, escaped, his rural vassals, with their harvests, would perish, and consequently his own means of support. He could not, therefore, be sorry, when the towns offered to the latter a shelter both for themselves and the produce of his fields; nor could he disapprove their incorporation in the new municipalities formed by Otho the Great. For a time, these very towns, fortified as they were, and comparatively disciplined as were their inhabitants, required the aid of the neighbouring nobles, whenever they were assailed. So long as they acknowledged their dependence on the barons, the ancient governors of the district; so long as they chose them for their counts, or consented to pay their accustomed contributions; that aid was willingly bestowed. The humbler class of nobles — the smaller gentry and knights — had an immediate interest in the new corporations; to them alone could they look for security: hence, they began to regard the towns in the place of their former superiors, the feudal barons, and to transfer their service from one to the other: often, too, as the benefit lay chiefly on the side of the corporation, that service was purchased by an annual sum. We read of some cities, especially when rival jealousies began to distract them, which maintained several thousand nobles, and all conferred on their defenders the most important civic posts. It was not to be expected that the great barons, who regarded themselves as the hereditary lords of their respective districts, could behold with complacency this abstraction of so many dependents, this loss of so many vigorous arms, this rising consequence of the communities which they had at first protected, and which showed little disposition any longer to recognise their jurisdiction: still greater was their indignation, when, as the strength of the social municipalities increased, their own authority was not merely disowned, but derided. Though the primary object of such associations was, doubtless, defence against foreign aggression, the members were not less

actuated by the hope of escaping the onerous jurisdiction of their ancient lords. The latter object appears to have been thoroughly understood by the emperors, who had long had reason to complain of the conduct of their great vassals,—men become too proud to obey, and too powerful to be punished. To counterbalance their dangerous authority, and at the same time to fill his coffers by the grateful contributions of the new communities, was long the care of each imperial protector. In return for ample donatives, or stated tributes, the old feudal laws, which were wholly inapplicable to the new societies, were replaced by the provisions of the Germanic burger code. These provisions authorised a new organisation, new magistrates, new tribunals,—the election of those magistrates resting with the citizens,—and were designed to encourage their chief branches of industry. In silence the communities laid the foundation of their future greatness, by encouraging population, by attracting new settlers, by extending their industry and commerce. So long as they had reason to dread the destruction of their harvests outside their walls, or the capture of their merchandise as it was conveyed from mart to mart, they were ready enough to acknowledge their dependence on the barons; but the moment they found themselves strong by their position, by their numbers, by the aid of their new allies and fellow-citizens the knights, they threw off the mask, and scorned to yield either tribute or homage. In the first transports of their fury, the dukes and counts, and the greater barons, revoked the fiefs which they had granted to the gentry and knights; the latter, aided by the corporations, flew to arms; a warfare followed, which, during many years, deluged Lombardy with blood, until, as before related, the emperor Conrad the Salic secured the independence of the vassals, by decreeing the perpetuity of fiefs, except in cases of felony. Of the knights, indeed, many still depended on feudal superiors; but the greater portion, in the twelfth century at least, were connected with the municipal corporations, which they rather

directed than served.— Thus, from the foregoing observations, it is clear that the new societies partook of the character of both their victorious and their vanquished ancestors; that the example of the former had elevated the latter to self-confidence and dignity; these, in their turn, had taught the others to look for safety in social union; that a new race had sprung up, deeply imbued with both sentiments. But the characteristic distinction was not wholly obliterated; no doubt, it was rendered still more visible by the different condition of the inhabitants. We have before alluded to the contempt with which the nobles regarded the industrious classes, and to the spirit with which the latter not only vindicated themselves, but often expelled their insulting allies. They had no less pride than the knights; they, too, were inured to arms; and, though their discipline was less complete, they were more numerous than the others, and were every where triumphant. Though partly from private affection, and probably from policy, they permitted the exiles to return, they reserved to themselves a considerable share in the municipal government; in some places they usurped it entirely. If this was only in the prosperous days of their republics; if, subsequently, as we shall soon perceive, the nobles more than regained their ancient influence; let it be remembered, that of the prosperous days only,—of the eleventh and twelfth centuries,—are we now speaking. The revenge of men and nations increased with success. It was not enough for the municipalities that they triumphed, first over their ancient feudal lords next over their noble allies: they ventured, as we have already seen, to measure their arms with the most powerful sovereigns of Europe,— with the princes of the house of Hohenstauffen; nor was their success in this bold warfare inferior to that which had previously attended them.*

The constitution of these communities was not always 1185.
uniform: indeed, the same community often changed

* Authorities: — The historians of Lombardy, in places too numerous to be cited; with the two general historians, Muratori and Sismondi.

in form, both as regarded the magistracy and the laws. Thus, soon after the peace of Constance, Milan greatly circumscribed the authority of its twelve consuls, and amplified that of its podesta. To this latter functionary was confided the execution of every public criminal, and the command of the army. The consuls, however, continued to be the judges and ministers of the state; they formed the council of Credenza; they nominated to offices, presided over the finances, and had the initiative in all councils and assemblies of the people: hence their office was one of ambition, and generally held by the nobles, who were raised to it by the suffrage of the citizens. Then there was the archbishop, who from time immemorial had exercised a species of jurisdiction, originally extensive, but subsequently little more than nominal. In his name all sentences were pronounced; he alone could coin, and fix the value of, money; and he was entitled to an entrance duty on all merchandise. In the other towns of Lombardy, the government was similar, if we except the archbishop, and reduce the number of consuls. Thus, in Bologna, the sovereign authority was divided between the councils, the consuls, and the padesta, of whom none probably were elected immediately by the people: the councils and podesta were certainly not; and though a deep gloom covers the manner in which the consuls were chosen, there is no reason to suppose that it materially differed from that of the two other branches of government. The city was partitioned among four tribes, of which each selected ten individuals; and the party thus chosen formed a sort of electoral college, since they had the undivided nomination of the members composing the special and confidential councils.* When the podesta was to be elected (annually in September), forty members from both councils were chosen, and confined to one apartment until they returned a candidate for that high office. But if the great body of the citizens were thus removed from an immediate election of their public officers, they had at least the conso-

* See page 28.

lation of learning that they were the primary source of all power; and in their general assemblies, they exercised a resistless control over their legislative and executive servants. But it is almost useless to dwell on institutions which changed with the changing humours of the populace, or at the pleasure of some ambitious adventurer, who often crushed the power to which he owed his elevation.*

During the remaining part of Frederic's reign, viz. from the peace of Constance to his death in Armenia, while absent on a crusade, A. D. 1189, there appears to have prevailed great harmony between him and the cities whose independence he had been forced to acknowledge. His son and successor, Henry VI., had little intercourse with Italy. We read of his interference in ending a war between two republics, Brescia and Cremona, each of which strengthened itself by allies, and, in gratification of its turbulent passions, sought to wrap the whole kingdom in flames. But no sooner was a pacification effected in one place, than the strife was renewed in another; and when these mutual jealousies were suspended —never for more than a moment—each city again became the theatre of hostility between the nobles and the plebeians. We have before related how the former were deprived of a portion at least of their conventional rights by the latter. It was not to be supposed that they would quietly suffer this humiliating reverse; many endeavoured to gain by intrigue what force had attempted in vain; and many more hastened into the march of Treviso, where the power of their order had not only remained untouched, but had actually increased. Why in that particular district their condition was so much more enviable, was owing to various causes. 1. It contained greater and more numerous fiefs, all immediately dependent on the emperors, some very recently conferred, than any other part of Lombardy. 2. It abounds with natural positions, excellent

1189 to 1200.

* Bernardino Corio, Historia di Milano, Parte II. Muratori, Annali d'Italia (sub propriis annis). Sismondi, Histoire des Républiques, tom. ii chap. 12.

sites for domestic fortresses, where the nobles could easily withstand the tumultuous assaults of the neighbouring population. 3. Many were chosen as podestas, who in consequence exercised no less power in the towns than amidst their own rural vassals. But these nobles themselves were no less split into factions than the licentious populace of Bologna, or Lodi, or Milan. Thus Vicenza had two, under one or other of which were ranged all the nobles of the city; the counts of Vicenza, who were Guelfs, and the lords of Vivario, who were Ghibelins: Verona had the Guelf, Montecchios and the Ghibelin San Bonifazios; and Ferrara the parties of Salinguerra and Adelard, the former Ghibelin, the latter Guelf. As each fiercely contended for the direction of the executive government, the citizens, to avert future commotions, persuaded both to accept a compromise, to consent that the podesta should be alternately taken from each of the rival families or factions: but though this expedient sometimes disarmed rebellion, it could not allay animosity. Of these ferocious chiefs, none are more fatally known in Lombardean history than the lords of Romano, who possessed extensive fiefs north of Vicenza and Verona, and who were citizens of the former republic. In 1194, a podesta was appointed personally hostile to the faction of Vivario and the family of Eccelino, the third lord of Romano, who adhered to the Vivarios: all were banished from Vicenza, but from fear of their power were soon recalled. Three years having elapsed, however, Eccelino was again expelled from a similar cause. Having received a body of troops from his allies, the Paduans, he defeated the Vicenzans; the latter called in the Veronese, who were, however, soon gained by Eccelino, and who prevailed on their allies to make peace with a baron, powerful enough to measure arms with republics. Of still greater influence was the marquis of Este, who had fiefs no less extensive in the same province, and who, as the acknowledged head of the Guelfs, was hostile to the Vivarios, and the whole faction of the Ghibelins. By the marriage of Obrizzo

d'Este with an heiress of the Guelfs, resident at Ferrara, the family acquired immense influence in that city which was chiefly devoted to the papal cause: thither they removed, and from that period the name of Este became inseparable from that of Ferrara. At Brescia the nobles were still more powerful, since they engrossed the whole administration. At Bologna, Reggio, Modena, Parma, and Placenza, however, they were no more than the military servants of the municipalities.

The civil dissensions which agitated the empire after the death of Henry VI. naturally weakened its influence over the Italian cities, and in the same degree strengthened that of the nobles, who now began to struggle for the supreme authority throughout a considerable portion of Lombardy. In the same degree the Ghibelin or imperial party declined; for though many of the barons continued to adhere to it, they fought rather for themselves than for the rights of the emperors. On their side the popes were not idle: all the Tuscan cities, except Pisa, through the persuasion of Innocent III., entered into a Guelf league, binding themselves to acknowledge no prince as emperor, without the express sanction of the holy see, and to defend it whenever its prerogatives should be assailed: nay, they even agreed to aid the church in a career of spoliation, under the pretext of recovering the places to which, in virtue of a grant from Charlemagne, and of a will by a Roman lady, the countess Matilda, the popes had advanced a claim. To restore his declining supremacy, Otho IV., in 1209, passed into Italy. He found Eccelino and the marquis d'Este at war, and the whole country divided by their factions, each anxious rather to wreak its vengeance on the opposite party, and arrive at the summit of power, than to have either emperor or pope. The two powerful chiefs obeyed his summons, and after some hesitation agreed to forget their mutual animosities. By the inhabitants of Ferrara the marquis had been declared lord of that city, a novel and dangerous precedent among republi- 1197 to 1250.

cans, and by the pope he had been invested with the march of Ancona. Otho confirmed both dignities, on the condition of homage from the vassal; and to gratify Eccelino, he declared against Vicenza, imposing on it a heavy fine, and subjecting it to that baron as his lieutenant, and as perpetual podesta. But the house of Este, owing, as it did, both its grandeur and its support to the Guelfs, abandoned the imperial cause, and entered into a still closer alliance with the pope. The disputes of Otho with Frederic, whom Innocent raised up to oppose him both in Germany and Italy, and who, in triumphing, ascended the imperial throne as Frederic II., added to the venom of faction all the horrors of anarchy throughout Lombardy. Many of the republics, Milan among the rest, had remained faithful to Otho, not from attachment to that emperor, but from hatred of the house of Hohenstauffen, of which Frederic II., as the grandson of Frederic Barbarossa, was the head. Though excommunicated by the holy see, which had long been the protector of the Lombard republics, the Milanese persisted in their fidelity; for in Italy, where the worldly policy of the popes was so well understood, their thunders were indeed *bruta fulmina*. Opposed to Milan and her numerous allies were Pavia, Cremona, Parma, Reggio. A bloody warfare followed, of city against city, the horrors of which were heightened by commotions in the same city, between the plebeians and the nobles: in some the former, in others the latter triumphed; but that triumph was generally of short duration. After a pacification the struggle was renewed, often with a similar result, though the general advantage certainly lay with the nobles, whose power, from the opening of the thirteenth century, maintained a perceptible increase in other places, no less than in the march of Treviso. After the death of Otho, Frederic II. remained the undisputed sovereign; but for this very reason he became the enemy of the papal see, the aim of which was always to humble the emperors. This change in the relations of

the two chiefs of the Christian world produced a corresponding one in those of the Lombardean cities, the Guelfs, who had recently supported him against Otho, reverting to their old principles. While Frederic was absent in the Holy Land, a new league of the Lombard cities hostile to the Ghibelins was formed under the auspices of Gregory IX. The reasons for such a confederacy have never been adduced by the most zealous advocates of republican institutions. These republics were virtually independent of the empire; they had no further concessions to hope from it; and their interference on this occasion must be explained, partly by the insidious policy of the popes, partly by that restless, turbulent, inconstant spirit so characteristic of democratic associations, and still more by the concealed views of the nobles, who, as podestas, were resolved to establish a permanent, even an hereditary authority, within their respective jurisdictions. In the short struggle of Frederic's son, Henry, king of the Romans, who endeavoured to dethrone him, the Milanese with their allies espoused the part of the rebel—an additional ground of ill-will. Not only did Frederic triumph over that undutiful prince; he formed a counter league of the cities which adhered to the Ghibelin interest, and placed at its head Eccelino III., the son and successor of Eccelino II., and destined to be much more famous. The war which followed was more favourable than any of the preceding, both to the pretensions of the nobles, and to the authority of the emperor. Verona was subjected to a senate of eighty nobles, with Eccelino at their head; Padua, like Verona and Vicenza, subjected itself to Eccelino, who governed it through a podesta; the Milanese being signally defeated by the emperor in person, would have lost the whole army, had not Pagano della Torre, lord of Valussina, opened for their escape the defiles of his fief; and the chief towns were detached from the league, until Milan, Brescia, Placenza, and Bologna alone remained. These advantages, indeed, were soon partially

counterbalanced by a check to the arms of the emperor, and by his excommunication, on pretexts too frivolous to be recorded. The Guelf party, under its implacable papal head, again rallied, but not so as to regain its former ascendancy. But whatever might be the fluctuations of the imperial fortunes, the aristocratic influence gradually extended: Treviso was under Alberic, a brother of Eccelino, while the latter held undisputed sway over Verona, Vicenza, and Padua; Mantua obeyed the count de San Bonifazio; Ravenna, Paoli Traversari; Ferrara, the marchése d'Este. Even Milan, which had formerly been the bulwark of democracy, in order to curb the increasing power of the nobles, placed itself under the authority of one man, Pagano della Torre, whom it named tribune of the people, in return for the service which that baron had rendered the retreating army of the republic.*

1251 to 1259. After the death of Frederic II., and his son Conrad, and during the commotions consequent on the double election of Richard earl of Cornwall, and Alfonso X., of Castile, to the imperial crown, Germany was occupied by interests too near to have leisure for attending to the affairs of Italy. During that period the Ghibelin interest naturally declined; it was supported only by Eccelino; but that baron had risen to sovereign power; he governed not only the three cities before mentioned, but Feltro, Belluno, Trent, and a vast number of rural districts; and if he had been as moderate as he was able, valiant, and fortunate, he would, like other princes of the time, have laid the foundation of an hereditary power. But his atrocities were unequalled, even in a period of lawless violence; they would exceed belief, were they not so well attested by contemporary historians. Not only did he cause torrents of blood to flow even on mere suspicion; not only did he construct dungeons so dark, so damp, and so loathsome, as to be com-

* The same authorities, with the addition of the various historians of Lombardy, Tuscany, and the Trevisan March, in the great collection of Muratori, in places too numerous to be cited.

pared with the infernal regions; and fill them, not merely with men, but with women and children, who died either through the pestilential vapours, or in consequence of incredible tortures, but he accompanied his monstrous acts by an ingenuity which made him appear like an incarnation of some evil principle. Thus he enclosed four lords during some time in one of these dungeons, which he at length, in imitation of the tremendous monastic punishment, the Vade-in-pace, turned into their sepulchre by walling up the entrance: their awful cries were heard from their living tombs, until nature, in mercy, sunk under the trial. A lady belonging to the family of a steadfast supporter, married into the family of a Guelf: her whole kindred were publicly executed. Amidst the silence of night, the towns which he governed resounded with the groans of the tortured, many in the last agonies; and in the day, the inhabitants were regaled with the view of whole bands of nobles cut to pieces in the public squares, and their bodies consumed by fire. His ministers, whom his penetration had chosen, were no less sanguinary: he had spies every where, and his victims were often executed without form of trial. No wonder that his name was one of terror. In short, he attained a degree of celebrity so eminently diabolical, that in 1255, a crusade against him was proclaimed by Alexander IV., and the same indulgences held out to those who joined it as to those who proceeded to war with the infidels of Asia. It was headed by the papal legate, the archbishop of Ravenna, and Padua was soon taken by assault,—the inhabitants joyfully receiving their liberators, even though they were plundered of their whole substance, under the pretext of their being the allies of the tyrant. From the horrid dungeons of San Sofia, and of the Cittadella, six hundred captives were drawn; and a proportionate number from six other prisons. Of these victims some were venerable from age; some helpless from infancy; in many cases, both deprived of their eyes, or maimed in

a manner that cannot be related; and others were young ladies, once beautiful, but their loveliness succeeded by the hue of lingering death. When Eccelino heard of the loss of Padua, his fury knew no bounds, and he indulged it in a degree, perhaps, unexampled in the annals of tyranny. He had with him about 11,000 troops, furnished by Padua and its dependent villages, and these constituted about one third his actual force. He knew that they secretly rejoiced at the release of their fellow-citizens, and he justly feared that they would seize the first opportunity of deserting. He artfully enveigled them, in separate bodies, into his power, and consigned them to the dungeons of Verona, where, or subsequently on the scaffold, all perished except 200. The crusade was conducted with great imbecility, and no less cowardice. In 1258, the legate himself, with 4000 men, fell into the hands of the tyrant, and Brescia surrendered to him. But here his good fortune abandoned him. Two of his noble allies, whom he alienated by his perfidy, joined his constant enemy, the marchése d'Este, and a new league was formed among the towns subject to that prince, to pursue him unto death. After some indecisive operations, he was enveloped at the bridge of Cassiano, which passed the Adda, by a superior force. For the first time in his life he was observed to shudder; though he believed not in God, he placed a reliance in starry influences; and as his astrologers are said to have told him that this place would be fatal to him, he felt that his last hour was at hand; but the prediction, doubtless, arose from the event.* There he was defeated, wounded, and made prisoner; but, true to his character, he scorned to converse with his new

* Troviamo presso d'alcuni autori che Ezzelino un giorno esistente in un castello nominato *Bassano*, diocesi Vicentina, da un pessimo nigromante, quale uno spirito havea in sue forze, dimando in qual luogo dovea morire, il spirito con nome imperfetto rispose, *in Assan:* ilche Ezzelino interpreto *Bassano*. It turned out, however, to be *Cassiano*. When the tyrant was wounded at the passage of the Adda, he asked the name of the place, and hearing that it was Cassiano, exclaimed, Questo è il mio fatale termine. Corio, fol. 117 A Shakspeare or a Walter Scott might have rejoiced at meeting with such a legend.

masters; he preserved a haughty silence to the last; and instead of allowing the leeches to cure him, he tore open his wounds, and died on the eleventh day of his captivity. On his death, the cities over which he had so long tyrannised abandoned themselves to immoderate rejoicing; but none appeared to have profited by the lessons of experience, since they again submitted to the sway of one man. Verona took for its podesta Mastino della Scala, while Vicenza and Bassano received one from Padua.*

From the preceding glance at the revolutions of the Lombard republics, it is evident that they possess no great claims to our admiration: they were unable to secure internal peace; they offered no guarantees for individual security; they were perpetually affected by the temporary ebullitions of popular feeling, or by the daring schemes of the nobles; they had no fixed plan of policy, but were like vessels without pilot, exposed to destruction by every wind that blew; they plunged into war with their neighbours, often without even the shadow of pretext; they abused the liberty which they had wrung from the emperors, formed themselves into seditious factions, and were at last forced to seek a refuge in despotism from the tyranny of one another. Their glory was of short continuance; it did not much survive the death of Frederic Barbarossa. Wherever the laws are not administered by a vigorous undivided executive, they will soon be despised; factions are formed, the heads of which become too powerful for obedience; when one is expelled or destroyed, the only effect is to increase the power of the other; the social tie is dissolved; individuals usurp the place of magistrates; security for life or substance is at an end. Where the passions luxuriate, and in their gratification have no external restraint to dread; where private wars are permitted, every man who has received an injury being 1260.

* Rolandinus Patavinus, de Factis in Marchiâ Trevisanâ, lib. viii.—xii. Laurentius de Monacis, Ezelinus, iii. p. 135—152. Richardi Comitis S. Bonifacii, Rerum inter ipsum et Eccelinos, p. 117., &c. Chronica Ferrariensis, p. 469—488. Parisius de Cereta, Chronicon Veronense, p. 617—640. Chronicon Parmense, p. 790., &c. Bernardino Corio, Historia di Milano, parte ii. fol. 115., &c. Sismondi, Histoire des Rép. tom. ii. ch. 19.

expected to take the law into his own hands; where murders are of perpetual recurrence, and where, to revenge them, one family is in arms against another; where the nobles and the citizens are in a state of undisguised hostility, the former compensating for their numerical inferiority by a more compact organisation; where the privileged class are expelled to-day, and to-morrow return with a strong rural force to wreak their vengeance on the populace; where the very magistrates, as chosen from the nobles, are regarded with suspicion, and where deputies of illegal societies watch their proceedings; where brute force only is triumphant, the leaders of a faction may gratify their ambition, but the great body of the people will sigh for any change that promises to restore the supremacy of the laws—that will level a hundred local tyrants, whom crimes have elevated above their fellows, with the rest of the community. The people at length found by painful experience that their magistrates were useless;—were unable to calm the fury of civil tempests; and they did not hesitate to call in a power strong enough to assuage it,—a power to which they confided both the execution of domestic criminals, and the command of the municipal troops. The office of podesta was, for some time, annual only; but that high functionary discovered that the force which could thus quell a hundred factions, which could secure tranquillity in a whole turbulent population, might, if cautiously employed, be made to serve his personal ambition,—that it might be held for life, nay, transmitted to his descendants. Himself a noble, the podesta naturally leaned to his order; and by that order he was as naturally supported, since whatever elevated them above the populace, whatever held out inducements to their ambition,—and they soon learned to engross all the offices of the magistracy,—was sure to secure their adherence. From the opening of the thirteenth century, we find the aristocratic influence rapidly increase throughout Lombardy, no less than in the march of Treviso. For this increase, indeed, one rea-

son alone would satisfactorily account,—the change in the military discipline, and the consequent transfer of the art of defence from the citizens to the nobles. The heavy armour which now began to distinguish the cavalry,—the solid helmet, with its closed vizor, the impenetrable cuirass, or mail, the cuishes, greaves, and buckler, all which so completely protected the body,—demanded not only a strong rider but a strong horse, and were in consequence inapplicable to mechanics or tradesmen, whose habits of life were so enervating, and who were generally too poor to maintain the costly paraphernalia of a knight, or man-at-arms. Against such warriors, whose long lances could extend far beyond the range of a sword, and whose armour was impenetrable to arrow or dart, the infantry of the municipalities was useless. The cities were obliged to hire mercenaries, to enter into alliance with the nobles, to abandon their defence to other arms than those of the inhabitants; nor were the inhabitants themselves sorry to forego the fatigues and dangers of the field. In human affairs the protector soon becomes the master; the nobles accordingly became the predominant party, the tyrants of every state.*

The progress of a state from the licence of liberty to the despotism of one or more magistrates, is well exemplified in the case of Milan. We have before related how the populace, in order to be revenged on the nobles, had subjected themselves to the sway of a perpetual podesta, Pagano della Torre, who, on his demise, had influence enough to procure the election of his brother or his nephew, Martino della Torre, to the same dignity. Martino succeeded to more than his kinsman's authority: a flatterer of the populace, brave, artful, and enterprising, he more than counterbalanced the influence of Soresina, whom the nobles, in the view of opposing him, had appointed *their* podesta. In a conflict between the two parties, headed by their respective podestas, the

1256 to 1277.

* Muratori, Dissertazioni sopra le Antichite Italiane, passim. Sismondi, Histoire des Rép. tom. ii. chap. 20.

nobles were expelled from the city; and, as usual, soon returned victorious, both parties agreeing to a compromise. Subsequently, a new treaty was drawn up by sixty-four commissioners, thirty-two from each class, which minutely defined the rights of each, and which promised to produce permanent concord: in three months it was broken by the populace, and the nobles expelled. In the open campaign they were again victorious; again were the citizens forced to make peace; and again did they break it. In these perpetually recurring struggles, both parties had need of chiefs: the mob of the *Credenza* proposed to invest Martino, their podesta, with ampler powers; the more respectable citizens, who constituted the assembly denominated the *Mota*, from a just dread of his ambition, endeavoured to throw the election on another; hence the two classes of the democracy began to dispute with each other; they proceeded to an open contest, and the citizens of the Mota testified their disgust by joining the party of nobles. To allay this furious storm, the podesta of the city,—a legal functionary, who was of necessity a stranger, and whose office in Milan yet continued annual,—collected a force sufficiently strong to expel both Martino and Soresina, and to decree against them perpetual banishment. The former, however, soon ventured to return, and was enabled, by the adhesion of the mob, to set both magistrates and nobles at defiance. The power of this anziano, or lord of the people, now rapidly augmented; all other authority bent before his. Again were the nobles exiled; as usual, they triumphed over the infantry of Milan, with Martino at its head; and as usual, too, they would have regained their lost influence by the sword, had not Martino adopted a new expedient. To oppose the nobles by other nobles, he entered into an alliance with the marquis Pelavicini, a feudal baron, the podesta of Cremona, Novara, Brescia, and other places, who, in consideration of an annual sum of money, and of being nominated captain-general of the Milanese, agreed, with a numerous body of cavalry,

to serve the republic five years. To his other fiefs and commands, the marquis soon added the military government of Placenza, while Martino was nominated in that city, in Lodi, and other places, the anziano or tribune of the people. Thus these two ambitious men, the one as civil, the other as military governor, ruled most of Lombardy. Still further to strengthen his power, Martino, on the death of the archbishop of Milan, proposed to elevate a kinsman to that dignity. But many nobles remained in the city; above half the dignitaries of the chapter were of the same order; and a second candidate was nominated. The decision in this double election canonically lay with the pope, who rejected both candidates, and consecrated Otho Visconti, canon of the cathedral, then accidentally at Rome, as archbishop. As Otho belonged to the order of nobles, the choice was obnoxious to the mob, and still more so to Martino, who issued a decree of exile against the archbishop elect: subsequently he attained the perpetual lordship of Novara. So great was his ascendancy over the minds of the people, that on his death, in 1263, he obtained the election of his kinsman, Filippo della Torre, to the post he had so successfully held. Though the government of Filippo was very brief, he extended his sway over Como; and he dismissed the marquis Pelavicini, whose five years of command were expired. From this fact we may infer that the anziano no longer found enemies in the nobles, whom doubtless he had attached to the existing order of things, by admitting them to more than a participation in municipal benefits. But to confirm his authority, he did not depend so much on the communal troops, as on 1500 men-at-arms, whom he maintained at his own expense, and who were consequently his creatures. The successors of Filippo, Francisco and Napoleon della Torre, improved on the system of their predecessors, and every year appeared to confirm the domination of that aspiring family. But the sceptre was about to depart from it. The continued wars of the anziani against the exiled nobles, and

especially against Otho Visconti, the archbishop elect, who manfully fought for his see, and who was ever the acknowledged head of the discontented; the waste of blood and treasure; the heavy impositions which those wars rendered necessary, at length cooled the ardour of the Milanese. Otho was more merciful than might have been expected from a churchman: he seized on Como, Lecco, advanced towards Milan, and, amidst the silence of night, surprised the princes della Torre: one of them was killed in the struggle which ensued; Napoleon, with five others, was taken prisoner, and all were confined in six iron cages. This event was fatal to the family; for though two other nobles remained, who endeavoured to rouse the inhabitants of the capital in its behalf, they were driven ignominiously from the city, and a deputation was sent to Otho, with the welcome intelligence that he had just been created the perpetual anziano, or sovereign of the state. The house of Visconti, with one short interruption, retained its sovereignty over Milan, which it gradually extended over most of Lombardy, until the extinction of the male branch in the following century.*

1278 to 1318. From this time forward the revolutions of Lombardy continued to be equally numerous, and equally eventful. The archbishop Otho Visconti, no less resolved than the Turriani, to make the dignity hereditary in his family, had address enough to procure, during his own life, the recognition of Matteo Visconti as his successor. In some places, indeed, the ambitious nobles were less successful: thus two princes of Savoy were dethroned by their subjects, and the marquis of Montferrat, the greatest of the Italian feudatories, was not only dethroned, but closely confined in an iron cage, and displayed to the populace, like a wild beast. Nor was the house of Visconti without its alternations of disaster. Though Matteo seized on the domains of the dethroned

* Giovanni Villani, Historie Fiorentine, lib. vii. Corio, Historie Milanese, parte ii. fol. 120, &c. Annales Mediolanenses, cap. 39—49. Ferretus Vicentinus, Historia Rerum in Italiâ Gestarum, p. 953, &c. Sismondi, Hist. des Rép. tom. ii. et iii.

marquis, though he had endeavoured to fortify himself by alliances, his daughter being married to Albuino della Scala, son of the lord of Verona, and a son having as wife a princess of the powerful house of Este, he was soon enveloped by a league formed amongst the lords of Lodi, Como, Crema, Cremona, Novara, and the young marquis of Montferrat, and was compelled to resign his dignity. By a joyful decree the Turriani were recalled, the republic was restored, the chief authority intrusted to Alberto Scotto, lord of Placenza, who, though not a Guelf, formed a league among many of the neighbouring states, to protect religion and freedom. But his power was short; he was abandoned by the league; and replaced by other tyrants. Revolutions equally remarkable, and equally fleeting, afflicted all the other cities of Lombardy. Amidst the distractions which had so long torn the empire, the imperial sovereignty ceased to be recognised. But when Henry of Luxemburg, the first prince who during half a century had leisure to assert his rights, passed the Alps, he was welcomed by all parties, by aristocrats and domocrats, by Guelf and Ghibelin, — doubtless because all were tired of their long-continued anarchy. As his object was their common reconciliation preparatory to uniting them more closely under his sceptre, all were equally well received. Feeble as was the body of cavalry by which he was accompanied, — it was a mere escort, — he had no difficulty in displacing all the tyrants of the towns, except the lords of Verona, and appointing vicars imperial in their stead. At first Guido della Torre, lord of Milan, was disposed to resist; but observing how strongly the current ran in favour of the emperor, he wisely submitted. This was the first period of tranquillity which, during a full century, Lombardy had experienced: the mild sway of the imperial officers, based alike on justice and recognised law, appeared in its full light when contrasted with the dark, vindictive, despotic, and irresponsible authority of the local tyrants. During his stay at Milan, he was invested, amidst un-

bounded acclamations, with the iron crown of Lombardy. But it was his misfortune to be poor: he demanded the usual gratuities; a demand which, however reasonable, cooled the loyalty of the Milanese, who, equally regardless of hospitality, rose against him, under the guidance of the Turriani. Happily the commotion was quelled; the Turriani, chiefly through the aid of the Visconti, were expelled; the towns which, in imitation of the example, and at the instigation of the same rebels, had thrown off their allegiance, were again forced to resume it. Having received the submission of Genoa and Pisa, and endeavoured, though in vain, to establish his supremacy over Tuscany, Henry died near Sienna, which he was about to invest. This event again enabled the powerful barons,—so fickle is the popular mind,—to seize, by force or intrigue, the lordship of the towns. Padua submitted to the Curraras, Vicenza and Mantua to the Della Scalas of Verona; Milan obeyed Matteo Visconti, who added Cremona, Lodi, Como, Tortona, and other places to his domination; Pavia was governed by Filippone and Beccaria, and every other city was persuaded or forced to accept a lord.*

1318 to 1367. During the civil wars which, after the death of Henry VII., agitated the empire, the Italian Guelfs, with pope John XXII. at their head, endeavoured to expel the Ghibelins, headed by the Visconti, the Della Scalas, and other chiefs. Though under the curse of excommunication, Matteo nobly supported the interests of his party, and of his own ambition; but his son Galeazzo, who had equal bravery, had not equal talents. In 1322, the latter was expelled from Milan,—not by an indignant populace so much as by the efforts of a powerful faction,—but, as usual with the barons of

* Chronicon Citizense, p. 1201. Mutius, Chronicon Germanorum, lib. xxiii. Pfeffel, Histoire d'Allemagne, 1—464., &c. Ferretus Vicentinus, Historia Rerum in Italiâ Gestarum, lib. vii. Albertinus Mussatus, de Gestis Henrici VII. Imperatoris, lib. i.—xvi. Galvaneus Flamma, Manipulus Florum, p. 650., &c. Giovanni Villani, Historia Florentine, lib. viii. et ix. Andrea de Gataro, Chronicon Patavinum, p. 9., &c. Cortusiorum Historia de Novitatibus Paduæ et Lombardiæ, p. 798., &c.

Lombardy, he soon returned triumphant at the head of his troops, and was strong enough to defeat a formidable army of Guelfs, who invested his capital. The same ecclesiastical thunderbolt was hurled by the same pope, at the head of the new emperor, Louis of Bavaria, but it had as little effect on that monarch as on Visconti. To support the Ghibelins, Louis passed the Alps, was joined by the Della Scalao, the Esti of Ferrara, and other great feudatories, and with their aid he procured the recognition of his authority from Asti to Pisa, and the frontiers of the church. But he disgusted the Ghibelins by his insensibility to their services; he witnessed without anger the expulsion of the Bonacossis, his faithful adherents, from Mantua, which they had governed during forty years, and the election of the Gonzagas, who generally sided with the Guelfs. By his imprudence, his rashness, his ingratitude, he even indisposed the Viscontis, who entered into the same league, and in the following year the troubles of the empire,—troubles inseparable from an elective dignity,—encouraged the lords who had hitherto been remarked as most faithful to the Germanic head, to aim at independence. In fact, no principle, no government, no power, enjoyed a duration more than momentary; they were immediately succeeded by others, doomed like them to disappear, after the display of a few months or years. But, in the perpetual revolution of events the same princes, the same governments, the same system was almost sure to be restored. Generally, however, the same family retained the sovereignty in each of the states: at Milan the Viscontis were most formidable. In 1350, when the archbishop Giovanni Visconti succeeded to his brother, he found himself in possession of sixteen cities, the chief in the whole province *; and by purchase he added Bologna, — a city, however, which did not long remain submitted to Mi-

* They were Milan, Lodi, Placenza, Borgo San Donino, Parma, Crema, Brescia, Bergamo, Novara, Como, Vercelli, Alba, Alexandria, Tortona, Pontremoli, Asti.

lan. At this time the archbishop, who showed as little deference to the pope as to any other prince, threatened the subjugation of all Italy to the very confines of Naples; with difficulty the Florentines escaped it; Genoa did not. His death, in 1354, relieved central Italy from just apprehension. His three nephews, who succeeded him, and who divided his ample possessions, showed more zeal in ruining each other, than in extending his ambitious plans. On the other hand, they had little to fear from the imperial pretensions. So long as the emperor remained in Italy, he was acknowledged by the Lombardean cities; but his attempts to reduce Tuscany, a country which, however split into separate governments, was never disposed to the German cause, occupied too much of his force to render him formidable to the local tyrants he had left behind; and the moment he repassed the Alps, he and the empire were forgotten. The disasters of Italy were increased by an army of robbers, chiefly German mercenaries, called the Great Company, who were always ready to sell their swords to any prince, and who, in times of peace, traversed and ravaged the whole country, from the Alps to Calabria. These formidable bands were often in the pay of the Viscontis, who, conscious that they held a power equal to that of sovereigns, began to contract sovereign alliances. In 1361, the eldest of the Viscontis procured for his son, Giovanni Galeazzo, the hand of Isabelle de Valois, daughter of Jean, king of France, and one of his daughters he married to Lionel, duke of Clarence. — Other companies of disbanded soldiers, or freebooters, followed the Germans into the fertile plains of Lombardy. One of these, consisting almost wholly of English, who had served under Edward III. and the Black Prince in the wars with France, introduced the plague, which proved a greater scourge than even the sword: in a few months it carried away half the population of the chief towns.*

* The same authorities, with the addition of Filippo Villani, Historia, passim. Annales Mediolanenses, p. 750, &c. Chronicon Estense, p. 479, &c. and many others.

In 1368, the emperor Charles IV. visited Italy a second time, with the avowed purpose of humbling the Viscontis; but whether he was deterred from it by the formidable front of Sir John Hawkwood, captain of the English company, then in the pay of the lord of Milan, or by the offer of money, he proceeded to Tuscany, where, like his predecessors, he vainly endeavoured to establish the imperial supremacy. His retreat again redoubled the ambition of the Visconti, who made war with various success, according as they were supported or opposed by the mercenary chief, Hawkwood: their own dissensions, owing to the partition of Lombardy, sometimes threatened their ruin. In 1387, Giovanni Galeazzo, who resided at Pavia, inveigled into his power his uncle Barnabas, lord of Milan, and in taking possession of that capital, became lord of all Lombardy. With his increased power, the perfidious noble soon expelled Antonio della Scala from Verona, reduced Vicenza, belonging to the same house, and thus ended the domination of a family which, during one hundred and twenty-eight years, had reigned over the greater portion of the Trevisan march. With a perfidy equal to that which he had exhibited in regard to his uncle, whom he had subsequently poisoned in prison, he despoiled the Carraras of the lordship of Padua. But Francesco de Carrara, whom he had doomed to destruction, escaped from his power, and with the assistance of the Florentines regained his sovereignty. However, Giovanni preserved his other conquests; he defeated the Florentines, whom he constrained to make peace, and even forced the restored lord of Padua to pay an annual tribute of 10,000 florins. Having vainly attempted to diminish his power, by raising up enemies against him, in 1395 the emperor, Wenceslas, the most venal of sovereigns, treated with the chief whom he was unable to destroy. For 100,000 florins he erected the states of Milan into a duchy, the investiture of which, as an imperial fief, was for ever to remain hereditary in the family of Visconti. This dignity, indeed, was contested

1368 to 1402.

by the successor of Winceslas, the emperor Robert, who invaded Italy with the design of humbling so aspiring a vassal, but who signally failed. There seemed, indeed, no bounds either to the ambition or to the success of the duke: he caused his domination to be acknowledged by Perusa, Sienna, Pisa, Bologna, and Lucca; to escape his yoke, Genoa was compelled to place itself under the protection of the French king; Venice and the pope were glad to remain at peace with him; Florence was the only power which openly resisted him. The last named republic must have sunk like the rest, had not the plague carried off its great enemy, at the very moment its independence was most menaced.*

1402 to 1446. With Giovanni Galeazzo Visconti, the first duke of Milan, dissolved the sovereignty which he had formed. In fact, his own testamentary declaration divided his estates among his sons. To the eldest, Giovanni Maria, he left the duchy of Milan, extending from the Ticino to the Mincio; to the second, Filippo Maria, the lordship of Pavia, with nine considerable towns; to an illegitimate son the lordships of Parma and Pisa. As these princes were too young to govern by themselves, a council of regency undertook the management of affairs. The death of the duke was the signal for defection and hostility. Florence, which had been uniform in its resistance, prepared for the offensive; the pope, who had submitted to every insult from the father, was not slow to join the league for the ruin of the sons; the divisions which distracted the council, some of the members in disgust passing over to the side of Florence and the pope, aided the success of the confederates; several towns revolted, instigated by the descendants of those who had once possessed the seigniory; from one end of Lombardy to another, nothing was to be seen but the

* Poggio Bracciolini, Historia Florentina, lib. i.—iii. Leonardo Aretino, Hist. Fior. lib. viii.—xii. Scipione Ammirato, Hist. Fior. lib. xiii.—xvii. Chronicon Estense, p. 492, &c. Piero Minerbetti, Chronica, A. D. 1380, &c. Andrea Gataro, Storia Padovana, p. 498., &c. Annales Mediolanenses, cap. 147, &c. Stella, Annales Genuenses, lib. iii. p. 1170., &c. Cherubino Ghirardacci, Storia di Bologna, lib. xxvii. Bernardino Corio, Istoria di Milano, fol. 240—283. Sismondi, Hist. des Rép. tom. v.

strife of factions—but anarchy and bloodshed; an army of Florentines and of papal troops marched on Milan, which would probably have fallen, had not the widowed duchess sought a reconciliation with Boniface IX., and attained it in exchange for the surrender of Bologna and Perusa. The Florentines, however, though deserted by their spiritual ally, kept the field; Sienna was restored to freedom; in a popular sedition at Milan the duchess was arrested, imprisoned, and poisoned. Feltre, Belluno, and Verona were seized by Francesco de Carrara, lord of Padua; Vicenza was invested, but, as the Venetians laid claim to it, Carrara was involved in a war with that republic, by which he was conquered, made prisoner, and put to death; but not until he had seen Verona and Padua his capital in the power of his formidable enemy. The flag of St. Mark was soon waved on the towers of all the towns in the march of Treviso, where the domination of the Della Scalas, the Viscontis, and the Carraras was ended for ever. The subsequent disasters of the ducal house of Milan were scarcely less signal; four independent lordships were formed in the very heart of the state, and Pisa was seized by the Florentines. But in the case of this house, as in every other where Italian affairs were concerned, there seemed to be a fatality which, while it effected the most astonishing changes, was preparing to undo its own work, to abase those whom it had exalted, and exalt those whom it had abased. When the young duke Filippo Maria (his brother Giovanni had been massacred by the populace) arrived at a proper age, he contracted a matrimonial alliance, by which he recovered four of the cities, Tortona, Vercelli, Novara, and Alexandria, that since the death of his father had obeyed local seigniors. To recover the rest was now his aim; and either by perfidy or the valour of his general he subdued the whole country between the Adda, the Ticino, and the Alps; Genoa was made to depend on him, and in several successive engagements the Florentines were signally humbled. But in

the insolence of success he was imprudent enough to disgrace his general, Carmagnola, to whom he was indebted for it. Carmagnola fled to Venice, the government of which he persuaded to enter into an alliance with Florence, and commence active hostilities against his late master; and the walls of Brescia were soon overlooked by the banner of St. Mark. But fortune did not always, nor indeed often attend the general. In 1432 he sustained a disastrous defeat; he was summoned to Venice, which could never pardon misfortune, on pretext of consulting him concerning propositions of peace. He was received in the ducal palace both by doge and senate with extreme honour; was arrested, tortured, and executed. When in the same year Sigismund appeared at Milan to receive the iron crown, he could not obtain an interview with Filippo Maria. In fact, that emperor soon found that none of the Italian nobles,—not the duke of Milan, nor the marquis of Montferrat, nor the marquis d'Este, nor Giovanni de Gonzaga, whom he created marquis of Mantua, were disposed to yield more than a nominal respect to the imperial crown. Visconti, above all, fortified his power, until he was every where recognised as the most imposing sovereign in Italy. But he owed his success rather to his perfidious intrigues, and to the internal dissensions of his enemies, than to his own merit. He never appeared at the head of his armies; he continually changed his allies, so that he never persevered in any given line of policy; even his son-in-law, Francesco Sforza, lord of the march of Ancona, he wished to be rather his enemy than his ally.*

1447 to 1450. On the death of Filippo Maria, who left no issue male, the Milanese, actuated by a sense of their former liberty, were resolved to restore their republic, though

* Piero Minerberti, necnon Poggio Bracciolini (sub propriis annis). Macchiavelli, Istoria Fiorentina, lib. iv.—vi. Marini Sanuto, Vitæ Ducum Venetorum, p. 970, &c. Stella, Annales Genuenses, p. 1300, &c. Leonardo Aretino, Commentarius, p. 930, &c. Petrus Candidus, Vita Philippi Mariæ, p. 981—1020. Idem, Vita Francisci Sfortiæ, Quarti Mediolanensium Ducis, p. 1021, &c. Giovanni Simoneta, Historia Francisci Sfortiæ, lib. iv.—vi. Scipione Ammirato, Hist. Fior. lib. xxii. Bernardino Corio, Istorie Milanesi, parte iv. et v. Sismondi, Hist. des Rép. tom. v. et vi. passim.

the ducal dignity was sought by Sforza, in right of his wife; by the duke d'Orleans in right of his mother, a princess of the house of Visconti; by Alfonso V., king of Naples, in virtue of an alleged will of the deceased duke; and by the emperor of Germany. The confusion occasioned by these jarring pretensions, — all the candidates, the emperor excepted, appearing in arms, — was increased by the hostilities of the Venetians, with whom Filippo Maria had been so often at war, and by the efforts of the cities to regain their independence, — or rather of a few ambitious men who hoped to restore, within their respective districts, a tyranny more oppressive and odious than had ever prevailed at Milan. Pavia, also, restored its republican institutions, and the example was followed by other towns; but most of them were republics in name only; one man, or one family, exercising under the name of liberty power the most boundless. In consternation at these menacing circumstances, Milan resolved to disarm one at least of its enemies, Sforza, by engaging him as its general. This was just what he wanted; he agreed to obey, but with the resolution, at no distant day, of commanding. His subsequent conduct showed how well he was fitted for these turbulent times. He gained several allies among the revolted cities; Pavia, unable amidst contending factions to support its republic, chose him as its count: he obtained the most brilliant success over the Venetians; but when, instead of the most signal rewards, he received nothing but distrust, contradiction and ingratitude from the senate of Milan, he suddenly deserted to the Venetians, who, in return for the restoration of the places they had lost, agreed to assist him with money and troops to gain possession of the Milanese. The tide of success now turned against the republic, the possessions of which the count reduced with rapidity; and though Venice, with the characteristic policy of a republic, after compromising him with the Milanese, made peace with the latter, he no less persevered in his hostilities. He soon found that Milan could no more

maintain institutions which were become alien to it than Pavia; the moderate party was displaced by a furious democracy; the respectable citizens who were expelled, hastened to his camp; and though this advantage was counterbalanced by the hostility of the Venetians, who did not hesitate to side with the Milanese, he proved that he was equal to any situation, however arduous or perplexing: he invested Milan so closely that famine at length began to be felt; when the populace, to whom bread was dearer than liberty, arose, and assailed their magistrates, but without any preconcerted design, and without knowing in what manner the insurrection would terminate. After some deliberation, the only hope of escape from famine and death lay in the recal of Sforza, who was immediately introduced into the city.*

1450 to 1500. Sforza continued to triumph over the states of northern Italy, by his intrigues to preserve the neutrality of France in regard to the claims of the duke d'Orleans, and by his forces to impose on the German emperor, who had shown a strong disposition to seize a fief reversible by the extinction of the male line of Visconti. His son and successor Galeazzo Sforza was distinguished for pomp, profligacy and corruption in his public character; if he caused the laws to be rigidly administered, and military discipline to be observed, he did so from a principle of selfishness. His cruelty and lust were frightful: he incurred the hatred of the people by his frequent and savage executions; of the nobles and wealthy citizens by his extortions, and still more, by the dishonour which he carried into their families. This monster fell the victim of his vices; he was stabbed in the church of St. Ambrose by three conspirators, of whom two had to revenge a violated relative. Giovanni Galeazzo, eldest son of the murdered duke, succeeded; but, as he was a minor, the regency was entrusted to a council. His uncles endeavoured to seize the supreme authority; they failed, and were

* The same authorities, with the exception of Stella and Petrus Candidus.

driven into exile; but one of them, Ludovico, surnamed the Moor, returned with some allies, deposed the regency, expelled the duchess-mother, and, after governing some years in the name of his nephew, he removed him by poison, and usurped the dignity. The justice of Heaven was not blind to the crime of Ludovico. When his competitior for the duchy, the duke d'Orleans, ascended the throne of France, under the name of Louis XII., a formidable French army passed into Lombardy; and Ludovico, unable to resist, fled into Germany. But the rapacity, the insolence, the vices of the conquerors soon disgusted a people whom not even the best of governments would long have satisfied: Ludovico ventured to return, was received with acclamations; but was betrayed to the French by the Swiss, who formed the vanguard of his army, and whose conduct on this, as on many similar occasions, has covered the whole nation with infamy. The duke, with several princes of his family, was conducted into France, and consigned to a gloomy prison, where he ended his days.*

The subsequent fate of the Milanese is known to most readers. In 1512, Maximilian, a son of Ludovico, was placed on the ducal throne by the Swiss; but in 1515, a French army, under Francis I., compelled him to abdicate. A few years afterwards, the country was wrested from the French by the emperor Charles V., and Francesco Sforza was raised to a precarious dignity, from which he was soon deposed by the Spaniards; and though for a heavy sum of money he was subsequently permitted to exercise a nominal sovereignty, his last years were spent in slavery and disease. On his death without issue (1535) the duchy escheated to the empire, which, to the victories of Charles, had again restored its long-lost superiority. From this period to the war of the succession in Spain it remained subject to 1500, &c.

* Authorities, Guicciardini, Storia d'Italia, lib. i.—iv. p. 1—252. Corio, Historia di Milano, lib. vi. et vii. To these must be added, Philippe de Commines, Mémoires, the Mémoire of the Chev. du Bayard; the histories of all the Italian states, in fact those of all Europe.

the kings of that country; but during that struggle it was conquered by the archduke Charles: it remained in the house of Austria until the victories of Buonaparte annexed it to France: and, on the dissolution of the kingdom of Italy, it reverted to Austria.*

936 to 1050. II. PISA, GENOA, LUCCA, &c.—South of Lombardy lay the maritime republics of Pisa and Genoa, which, as we have seen, were often brought into contact with that country. The antiquity of the former, even as a flourishing sea-port, must be great, since in 980, when Otho II. was preparing to carry the war into Southern Italy, it was powerful enough to promise him a fleet for the transport of his troops. Of Genoa we hear somewhat earlier. In 936 it was pillaged by the Saracens, who then infested every coast of the Mediterranean; but long prior to that period it had been in possession of the Greeks. That the two republics would sometimes be in alliance, might be inferred from their proximity; that they would more frequently be at war, from their commercial rivalry. The first occasion that history mentions both of their union and rupture, took place early in the eleventh century, when the Pisans fitted out a naval armament against the infidels of Calabria. During their absence, Musa, a Mohammedan corsair, who had seized on Sardinia, hearing that their city was left without defence, entered one night the mouth of the Arno, and set fire to the place: the assailants, however, were repulsed,—whether through the courage of a lady who caused the tocsin to be sounded, and the magistrates to be apprised of their danger, may be doubted. What is certain is, that when, on their return, the Pisans were acquainted with the attempt, they swore to be revenged. They invoked the assistance of the Genoese; a powerful armament disembarked in Sardinia, and the misbelievers were expelled. One of the conditions of this alliance was, that Genoa should have the booty, Pisa the territory that might be won; but though that booty was immense, the former was not

* The general histories of Europe.

willing to see so considerable an island pass under the yoke of a rival. A rupture followed, which ended in the expulsion of the Genoese. But during the life of Musa, this conquest was never secure. With reinforcements obtained from Africa and Spain, he often insulted the garrisons, and in 1050 he again obtained possession of the island. A more formidable expedition was now equipped; after a struggle the aged chief was defeated, made prisoner, and consigned to a dungeon in Pisa, where he ended his days. On this occasion Genoa was permitted to have a settlement on the island; but the rest was either divided into fiefs, to be held by the principal nobles of Pisa, or was subjected to the immediate control of that republic.

The oldest historian of Genoa, Caffaro, whose annals embrace the first sixty-four years of the twelfth century, acquaints us with the simple constitution of his country. Its chief magistrates were sometimes four, sometimes six; they were called consuls, and the original duration of their office was three or even four years. Their powers, however, being found or suspected to be dangerous to liberty, in 1122 their office was rendered annual; but that this expedient was effectual may be doubted from the fact, that in a few years they were deprived of the judicial functions, were confined to the executive government, and to the command of the republican forces. At the same time an equal number at least of magistrates were chosen to preside in the tribunals of justice, and their jurisdiction also was annual. — During the same century we find that Pisa was divided into seven sections, each section having its company, and the election as well of its own judge, as of a consul to fill the executive. At the conclusion of his yearly term, each of these high functionaries was compelled to account, before the assembled people, for the manner in which he had discharged his trust. Of the early constitution of Pisa we have no account: we read only, and that incidentally, of consuls and of the popular assemblies; but from these expressions we may certainly

1100 to 1150.

infer that it differed little from that of other republican governments. But if the origin of Pisa be more obscure, the only cause is the want of native historians: that she was more powerful than Genoa may be gathered from the fact, that in the second crusade she equipped 120 vessels to Syria, while her rival furnished thirty-four only. It may, perhaps, be doubted whether religious zeal, or even martial glory, had so much concern in these expeditions, as the view of extending commerce. What we know with certainty is, that after these expeditions both republics had factories in every port on the eastern shores of the Mediterranean. The Pisans, too, apparently without aid from Genoa, were powerful enough to undertake an expedition against the Mohammedan king of Majorca, who had long interrupted their commerce, and who retained many thousands of Italian captives in his dungeons. The expedition was successful, owing, no doubt, as the Catalan writers assure us, to the valour of their count Raymundo of Barcelona, at whose instigation the Pisan vessels were prepared.* A war with Genoa, which appears to have been very indecisive, followed this triumph; and from this result we may gather that the rival republic must have greatly increased in strength. Whether the territories of each were amplified in proportion to their maritime greatness, is unknown. That of Pisa is believed to have extended along the coast from Lerici to Piombino; but whether Lerici, Viareggio, Massa, Grosseto, and Piombino acknowledged her superiority, may reasonably be doubted. She appears to have been originally the mere protector of a confederation formed for mutual defence; but protection and independence are inconsistent with each other; the authority which was at first conventional, and voluntarily received, would at length be regarded as legitimate. Genoa had also its league, the towns of which occupied a coast less extensive and fertile than that of Pisa, but

* See History of Spain and Portugal, vol. iii. p. 76. CAB. CYC.

in a neighbourhood less exposed to rival jealousy: while she had not one city immediately contiguous, that aspired to domination, the ambition of Pisa was held in check on the north-east by Lucca, farther to the east by Florence. As early as 1146 Lucca was strong enough to sustain a war of six years with Pisa; but the latter, if we may believe the native authorities, had the advantage.*

In the disputes between the emperors and the popes, the Pisans followed the Ghibelin, the Genoese the Guelf party. Both republics, too, late in the twelfth century, often replaced their consuls by podestas, and both were the frequent theatre of strife between the nobles and the populace. These podestas were of the privileged class, the councils which assisted them were long chosen from the aristocracy; but by what gradations a government purely democratic gave place to the ascendancy of birth, can never be explained. There is reason to believe that most of the ancient consuls were of noble birth, since a knight or baron was better fitted to conduct an army than a peaceful merchant; and the magistrates would be anxious to fill every subordinate place, where there was no popular election, with persons of their own or- until the better qualified class would endeavour to usurp all offices in the commonwealth. In Genoa, from 1190 to 1216, there appears to have been a struggle whether consuls or the podesta should govern the state, for dur- ing that period we find both, and, from 1216 to 1252, podestas alone. But, as the popular assemblies were still convoked whenever any important decision was to be made, and as the podesta, like the consul, was elected, the citizens still retained some of their ancient privileges. These, however, were not the only changes in the form of the executive: the podesta was sometimes replaced by the *capitaneus*, sometimes by the *abbas*, and at other times by the *ancianus*, — dignities of which we find frequent

1150 to 1262.

* Caffaro, Annales Genuenses, p. 248., &c. Breviarium Pisanæ Historiæ, p. 168—170. Jacobus de Varagine, Chronicon Genuense, p. 108. This prelate (he was archbishop of Genoa) assigns the glory of every conflict to his countrymen. Obertus Cancellarius, Annales Genuenses, lib. ii. p. 292, &c.

instances in the thirteenth century. But none appear to have enjoyed a long lease of power: often, the very next election, according, as faction, or prejudice, or love of novelty prevailed, ended their name with their administration; they could, however, hope, that in the perpetually revolving wheel of change, their dignity might again attain the summit,—a hope which was almost sure to be realised. "At present," says the archbishop of Genoa, who wrote towards the close of the same century, "we have an abbot and elders; whether we must soon change them or not, no one can tell; but at least let us pray God that we may change for the better: so that we are governed well, no matter whether we obey consuls, or podestas, or captains, or abbots." The good prelate proceeds to illustrate this truth by quaintly comparing the different forms of government to three keys, one of gold, one of silver, the third of wood: though the material of these, he observes, is very differently estimated, one is in reality as good as another, provided it does its office, that of opening. "There are three men: one is powerful—he is the golden key; another is rich or learned—he is the silver key; the third is poor, of low condition in life—and he is the wooden key. Now, although in the opinion of the world, the powerful and the rich are more to be esteemed than the poor, yet if these poor can govern a commonwealth better than the others, in so far they ought to be more valued than them. Little matters it by whom our state is governed. If it be governed better by consuls than podestas, let us have consuls; if better by podestas, let us have *them*; if better by a captain, or abbots, why, let us have captains and abbots." The first capitaneus, surnamed Boccanegro, owed his election to the mob, whom he had gained by flattery, and whom he persuaded to be no longer governed by tyrannical podestas; his election was for ten years; a council of thirty-two elders was elected to aid, or, rather, to obey him; a judge, two secretaries, and twelve lictors, were constantly to await his orders; and a knight, with fifty archers, were appointed his body

guard. A man with powers so ample was sure to become a tyrant; and we accordingly find that in the second year of his administration a conspiracy was formed to depose him. This time he triumphed; but when half his term was expired, a confederacy of the nobles, aided by the populace, compelled him to retire into private life.*

Into the endless domestic quarrels of the Guelfs and Ghibelins at Genoa and Pisa, and the consequent alliances — alliances of momentary duration — contracted in both cities with the emperor, the pope, or the king of Naples, we cannot enter; and if we could, nobody would thank us for the wearisome detail. As in Lombardy, the nobles were often banished, and as often recalled. The year 1282 is more famous in the annals of both republics, as the origin of a ruinous war between them. Pisa, with her sovereignty over Corsica, Elba, and the greater part of Sardinia; with her immense commerce, her establishments in Spain, Asia, and Greece, her revenues and stores, had little to gain, and much to lose, by contending with a poor, and perhaps braver power. If Genoa had less wealth, she had equal enterprize, an equal thirst for gain, and equal ambition. Where so much rivalry existed, it would easily degenerate into discord; and petty acts of offence were followed by general hostilities. In one of their expeditions the fleet of the Pisans was almost destroyed by a tempest; a second by the enemy; a third, after a bloody conflict off the isle of Meloria, was all but annihilated, and the loss in killed was 5000, in prisoners 11,000. These prisoners the victors refused to ransom, and for a reason truly Italian — that the retention of so many husbands in captivity would prevent their wives from renewing the population, and that Pisa must in consequence decline. This infernal policy succeeded; when, after sixteen years' warfare, peace was made, scarcely a thou-

1262 to 1370.

* Jacobus de Varagine, Annales Genuenses, p 19. Obertus Cancellarius, Annal. Genu. lib. ii. Ottobonus Scriba, Annal. Genu. lib. iii. Ogerius Panes, Annal. Genu. lib. iv. Marchirius et Bartholomæus Scribæ, Annal. Genu. lib. v. et vi. Ubertus Folieta, Annal. Genu. lib. iv. et v. p. 360—371. Sismondi, Hist. des Rép. tom. ii. chap. 20.

sand remained to be restored to their country. But Pisa had other enemies: all the cities of Tuscany, with Florence at their head, entered into an alliance with Genoa to crush the falling republic, which had rendered itself so obnoxious by its Ghibelin spirit. In this emergency, convinced how feeble must be the divided efforts of its municipal magistrates, Pisa subjected itself to the authority of an able and valiant noble, Ugolino della Gheradesca, who dissipated the formidable confederacy, and, by some sacrifice of territory, procured peace. Not less distracted was the internal state of the republic, now the Ghibelins, now the Guelfs, being called by the populace to usurp the chief authority. Though the Genoese had less domestic liberty, since they were more frequently under the control of some one tyrant, they were in general much more tranquil. In 1312 they submitted to the emperor, Henry of Luxemburg, but evidently with the resolution of throwing off the yoke the moment he repassed the Alps; while the submission of the Pisans was sincere. Two years afterwards the capitaneo or dictator of the latter reduced Lucca, and humbled the Florentines; but such was his own tyranny that the people expelled him. His fate is that of all the petty rulers of Italy; yet, though after this expulsion the forms of a republic were frequently restored, the spirit was gone; there was no patriotism, no enlightened notions of social duties; violence and anarchy triumphed, until the citizens, preferring the tyranny of one to that of many, again created or recalled a dictator. The war of the Pisans with Aragon, for the recovery of Sardinia, was even more disastrous than that with the Genoese. It ended in the loss of that important island, which had formed a considerable source of their resources. The evils, indeed, were partly counterbalanced by the conquest of Lucca, which had sometimes proved a troublesome neighbour; but nothing could restore them to their ancient wealth or power, so long as they were menaced by so many rival states, especially those of Tuscany, and so long as they were distracted by

never-ceasing domestic broils. In fact, at one time, their existence depended only on the imperial support; at another, on the dissensions or misfortunes of their enemies. The state of Genoa, which, in imitation of Venice, had forsaken its podestas, abbots, elders, and captains, for a doge and senate, but a senate much less aristocratic than that of the ocean queen, was scarcely more enviable, though doubtless more secure. This republic, too, had its pretensions to Sardinia, and consequently a perpetual enemy in the Aragonese kings. Often vanquished, it implored the protection of the king of Naples or the duke of Milan, according as policy or inclination dictated. It had, however, a better defence in its natural position, in the barren rocks which skirted it to the north and east, and in the valour of its sailors: and when, as was sometimes the case, its protectors became its masters, the foreign garrison, being cut off from supplies both by sea and land, was soon compelled to surrender. But Pisa had no such defence; and in 1369 she had the mortification to see the republic of Lucca restored to independence by the emperor Charles IV. On this occasion the Lucchese remodelled their constitution: they retained their anziani, or elders, with a gonfalonier at their head; both, however, in the fear of absolute sway, they renewed every two months. Ten anziani, with the gonfalonier, formed the signiory, or executive government, and were assisted by a council of thirty-six, called *boni homines*, and elected every six months. Over these was the college of 180 members, who were annually elected.*

The last great effort which Genoa made was the war of Chiozza with the rival republic of Venice. For some time that war was entirely to the advantage of the former; the two Dorias triumphed over the Venetians, took one of the outworks of the capital, and made the 1370 to 1498.

* Caffaro, Annales Genuenses, lib. viii.—x. Jacobus de Varagine, Annal. Gen. p. 19—55. Dino Compagni, Cronaca, p. 468—536. Ferretus Vicentinus, Historia Rerum in Italiâ Gestarum, p. 935—1190. Giovanni Villani, Istorie Fiorentine, lib. vi.—xii. (multis capitulis). Matteo Villani, Historia, lib. i. et ii. p. 932—1095. Anonymus, Monumenta Pisana (Chronica di Pisa), p. 978—1088.

terrified enemy sue for peace. But the two admirals, blinded by victory, meditated the destruction of the city; the enemy made a desperate resistance; success enabled it to become the aggressor, and the Genoese had soon to lament the loss of two fleets and a fine army. From this blow the latter republic never recovered. Its remaining strength was entirely exhausted by internal dissensions, by the open hostility of rival families and factions, by the expulsion of doge after doge, just as either party triumphed. In fact, in none of the republics, Venice excepted, where the popular voice was never heard, was any government secure for a single day. In these revolutions, so ordinary, that where we do not find them at every page, we are filled with surprise, it would be difficult to say whether the mortal hatred of faction, or the inconstancy of the mob, had greater part. Fortunately for the very existence of the state where such lamentable scenes necessarily passed, the people were divided into two classes: the respectable citizens naturally adhered to the principle of conservation; and the mob, with characteristic brutality, rose to destroy every thing: the union of the former with the government often preserved the community. But these very efforts produced the weakness of the state; factions only were strong; the laws were utterly disregarded. From 1390 to 1394, Genoa witnessed no less than ten changes in the person of her doge: both before and after this period there was enough of civil war, of open assassination; but the rapidity of these revolutions had never before been exhibited on any stage of society. The citizens acknowledged that their only hope of safety lay in the protection of a foreign master. One party declared for the duke of Milan; a second, from pure opposition, for the king of France. The latter was chosen. In a convention signed with the republic in 1396, Charles VI. renounced all right to levy imposts, to interfere with the laws, to control the forces of the republic; all that he obtained was to govern by a vicar, who should have the authority of doge, and an ally who

might probably aid him whenever he made war on the enemies of Genoa. The vicar was assisted by a council, composed impartially enough of Guelfs and Ghibelins, of nobles and citizens; and all affairs were decided by a majority of votes. But that this new functionary had an authority little more than nominal, is evident from the civil wars which broke out in the following year, in which five pitched battles were fought, in which thirty of the noblest palaces, and an incredible number of private and public edifices, were consumed by fire. — If the internal condition of Pisa was not quite so insecure, its political, owing to the contiguity of its enemies, was much more so. In 1405 it was besieged; the following year it was taken by the Florentines. Its existence was now at an end, after five centuries' duration. Unable to witness its downfall, or the sway of a Tuscan vicar, many of the inhabitants bade a last adieu to their homes, and sought establishments in other cities. In about a century, indeed, it made great efforts to recover its independence, and was declared independent of the Florentines; but those efforts, however heroic, and, for some years, obstinate, were in vain: it was again forced to resume the yoke. — Genoa continued to exist, notwithstanding its horrid anarchy. To repress that anarchy, the French monarch invested his vicar with greater powers than the compact between him and the republic warranted. Other complaints, some still more bitter, were raised against the domination — for such it had become — of the French: the vicar with his foreign garrison was expelled, and the marquis of Montferrat declared captain of the republic. Vengeance led the Genoese to join the enemies of France in the wars for the possession of Naples. But they were soon as dissatisfied with the marquis, whom, in two years, they expelled, to make way for a native doge. That they were unworthy of liberty, and incapable of enjoying it, was proved by their immediate relapse into the most dreadful anarchy: as a necessary consequence, agriculture, commerce, and patriotism declined, and the republic

betrayed by its own children, was unable to defend itself against the duke of Milan, whose general, in 1421, took possession of the place. By a treaty with the victor, the duke was thenceforward to exercise the same right of protection as the king of France. This new regime lasted fourteen years—a wonderful period!—when the same inquiet disposition expelled the Milanese garrison, and proclaimed the old republic. Twenty years of revolution, of anarchy, of civil war, of domestic murder, followed; in reality, any of their doges who presumed to require obedience from the people were soon deposed. All restraint, political, civil, or moral, was become too odious to be borne. From the same love of change which has characterised their whole political existence, the Genoese, at the close of the twenty years' anarchy, again submitted to the supremacy of the French king. In somewhat less than three years (in 1461) the same restless disposition demolished their recent work, though the French lieutenant, René d'Anjou, could not be accused of violating the compact. The new doge, in a few short months, was deposed by the intrigues of his cousin, Paolo Fregoso, who, though archbishop of Genoa, was an acknowledged captain of banditti, and a corsair-chief. The government of this mitred wretch was terrific: houses were entered by force, by night or day; the plate, the money, the merchandise, the wives or daughters of the owners, were unceremoniously carried away; and blood never ceased to stream from the scaffold. The oppressed people invoked the succour of the duke of Milan, who despatched a considerable army to expel this most reverend bandit. Paolo laid aside his pontifical mitre and ducal crown, and betook himself to his congenial element, the deep, with a resolution to resume both as soon as piracy should have strengthened him to enforce his views. As usual, the authority of Milan was soon thrown off, and a native independent doge proclaimed. The exiled prelate made himself so useful to the pope in the war against the Turks, that in 1480 he was invested with the dignity of cardinal, and

placed at the head of the papal fleet. His elevation occasioned little surprise in those who soon afterwards saw the same pope (Sixtus IV.) raise his youthful valet to the same dignity. The same year, this extraordinary cardinal-corsair returned to Genoa, and found his nephew, Baptisto Fregoso, in possession of the chief dignity. In three years, his intrigues were mature enough to enable him to arrest the doge, and to procure his own recognition. One of his natural sons, Fregosino, assumed, under his sanction, the same honourable career of robber chief, and, accompanied by his band, frequently appeared in the streets of Genoa to exercise his vocation. Yet, whatever were the crimes of the cardinal-doge, he might have died in peace, as far as the populace were concerned: two factions combined, surprised his guards, and forced him to seek refuge in the citadel. But he was in no disposition to surrender: he repulsed the assailants with vigour, and often carried destruction along the streets, or into the houses where enemies, or plunder, or women, were to be found. As the contest appeared likely to continue until the whole city was in ruins, the senate applied for aid to the French king, the cardinal to the duke of Milan. The ambassadors of the latter power at length prevailed on the archbishop, by the offer of a considerable annual pension, to renounce the ducal dignity; but disdaining to remain a mere prelate, where he had exercised absolute power, he retired to Rome, where, in 1498, he ended his extraordinary life. His retreat left the lieutenant of the duke of Milan doge of Genoa.*

The subsequent fortunes of Genoa it does not fall within our scope to detail. We may summarily observe, that Lewis XII. of France, disgusted with its perfidy, took the place by force, abolished its privileges, and reduced it to the state of a French province; that during the league of Italy against the French, they were 1498, &c.

* Authorities;—the numerous writers in the collections of Muratori and Grævius, with the annals of Muratori and the history of Sismondi, in places too numerous to be cited.

expelled from Genoa, and the ducal dignity restored; that during the wars between France and the emperor Charles V., the republic sometimes obeyed one, sometimes the other; that the constitution of Genoa was gradually changed from a democracy to an aristocracy,—the latter only being eligible to sit in the great council, or in the senate, or to fill the public offices; that from this period tranquillity generally reigned in this state, and that its prosperity was commensurate with this novel internal harmony; that it was conquered, formed into a new republic (that of Liguria), and was annexed to France, by Buonaparte; and that, at the general peace, the whole territory of Genoa was ceded by the allied sovereigns to the king of Sardinia.*

1079 to 1513. III. FLORENCE, SIENNA, &c.—After the destruction of the western empire, Tuscany, with other provinces, was governed by courts dependent on the Lombards, next on the Carlovingian kings, and subsequently on the emperors, but it was virtually independent. Matilda, the last sovereign of this province, dying without issue, ceded it, together with other ample domains, to the see of Rome. But the republican spirit, and from the same causes, was as rife here as in Lombardy: several towns, with Florence at their head, refused to be transferred to pope or emperor, and agreed, by solemn compact, to defend themselves against all assailants of their independence. But Tuscany had to undergo the same ordeal as the other states. The cities first exchanged their consuls for podestas; the office was usurped by certain noble families; an aristocracy was gradually established; Guelf and Ghibelin contended for the chief authority; city warred against city, and, in the same city, faction against faction; and when peace was made between the contending parties, its short duration had no other effect than that of enabling them to collect their forces for another struggle. In 1250, Frederic II. expelled the Guelfs from Florence; on his death they were recalled. But the citizens, disgusted alike with

* Authorities,—the general histories of Europe.

both factions, at the same time deposed their podestà, and created a democratic constitution, — a captain and twelve anziani, — the latter elective every two months. With that love of proselytism, so characteristic of democracies, the Florentines sought either to force their new institutions on the other towns of Tuscany, or to subjugate them: Sienna, Pistoia, Volterra, Pisa, &c. were forced to adopt popular modes of government, to expel the Ghibelins, and to make an alliance with the Guelfs, who, from this time, may be regarded as the chief supports of the church and the people. In ten short years, however, Florence itself yielded to the ascendancy of the Ghibelins, who, assisted by Manfred, king of Sicily, restored the aristocratic regime, and expelled all the Guelfs. In 1267 the latter were restored, and with them the spirit of proselytism, which again raged throughout all Tuscany. Such was the general character of Tuscan events. The popes and the Frank kings of Naples were the acknowledged heads of the Guelfs — the emperors, of the Ghibelins; but though the fortune of the struggle was often varied, as the latter were so distant, success more frequently lay with the former: it would, in fact, have always attended them, had not Pisa, the rival of Genoa and Florence, always furnished a retreat for the expelled Ghibelins, and with new sinews for resuming the war. But even when the obnoxious Ghibelins were thus absent, the city was generally as disordered as if they had been suffered to remain. The noble families were at open war with each other: each committed murder without scruple; and each had often a number of allies sufficient to divert the administration of justice. In revenge, the people declared thirty-seven families not only ineligible to civic dignities, but deprived of the ordinary rights of citizens. They did more: they decreed that whenever any noble was accused, there should be no need of witnesses; public report should be sufficient to condemn him. And that these tyrannical enactments might not prove a dead letter, a new officer was appointed, — the gonfalo-

nier, or standard-bearer of justice,—to whose authority were subjected twenty civic companies, of 200 men each. No sooner was that standard seen to wave from the windows of the public building where the gonfalonier and the members of the signiory resided, than each company, headed by its captain, was compelled to join him. A formidable force was thus ready to parade the streets, to inflict punishment on the refractory noble, and often to level his house with the ground. The proscribed class, however, were so cunning as to unite with one of the popular parties, — there were always two, at least, — and thereby to regain, rather by tacit permission than by compact, some of their privileges. The factions of the Whites and the Blacks (the Bianchi and Neri), into which the Guelfs were divided, added to the horrors of licentiousness. The origin of this new division was simple enough: two knights, belonging to two different branches of the same family, quarrelled; their immediate kinsmen on both sides joined in it; it soon embraced all the nobles of Pistoia; it extended to Lucca and Florence, where each of the two parties assumed one or the other name as a nom de guerre, and where each, losing sight of the original distinction between Guelfs and Ghibelins, contracted alliances with the great families of either. Hence the parties became of a mixed and complicated character; but the enmity of both was always proportioned to the immediate cause of offence. Early in the fourteenth century, the Blacks joined with Charles de Valois, king of Naples, and by that means succeeded in oppressing the rival party, which, in consequence, as naturally leaned towards the emperor and the Ghibelins. In such a state of things, no form of government could be of long continuance: republican, indeed, it remained, but its character was aristocratic or democratic, was anarchical or dictatorial, with every wind of passion. The policy of the Florentine republic varied with every change. In general, it continued faithful to the Guelf cause, because that party was the acknowledged head of the democratic

institutions; but in its alliance with the neighbouring powers, especially the petty lords of Lombardy, it often lost sight of this distinction. Rivalship in commerce, proximity of situation, intrigues of deputies and of native families, everlastingly modified its relations with the Italian states. The numerous wars into which its ambition led it, — and history proves that pure democracies are quite as sensible of ambition as monarchies, — had, in conjunction with its intestine disturbances, the inevitable effect of exhausting its strength, and of preparing it to receive any form of government which violence might be ready to impose on it. Thus the wars with Pisa, with Lucca, with the dukes of Milan, produced a state of languor which enabled certain daring leaders to seize the chief authority, and to retain it until some other revolution wrested it from their hands. Thus the Ciompi, the Albizzi, and, above all, the Medici, whose name became so famous in the annals of Tuscany, by turns directed the republic. The Medici were not of noble extraction; they owed their ascendancy partly to their wealth, procured by commerce, and partly to their specious defence of popular rights. About the middle of the fifteenth century, Cosmo de' Medicis laid the foundation of the future greatness of his family. Enlightened in mind, and liberal in his wealth; a scholar himself, and the patron of scholars; an indefatigable collector of manuscripts, which, when wealth could not purchase, he caused to be transcribed; the founder of palaces, monasteries, and churches, — this celebrated man soon acquired wonderful influence over the Florentine government. The successive steps by which that government was transformed from a democracy to an oligarchy, and ultimately to a dictatorship, would be tedious to detail. It may be sufficient to observe, that whereas the great magistrates were originally and long elected by the people, the people were at length persuaded or forced to delegate the privilege to a very limited number of electors. In 1482 that number was still further reduced to *five*, — an

innovation of which the consequences did not wholly escape the citizens, but which few were bold or patriotic enough to oppose. The substitution, indeed, of the ballot for direct suffrage, the appointment of the members of government by lottery rather than by vote, seemed to secure the triumph of democracy; but, then, the persons thus eligible to the public offices were few, and intrigues or corruption took care that as many as possible should be the creatures of the Medici. For a few years, indeed, this ballot was replaced by the universal election of the gonfalonier of justice, the chief magistrate; but, as if tired with their own liberty, the citizens beheld the resubstitution of the ballot, and the consequent augmentation of party influence, without complaint. They were, in fact, tired of anarchy, — of being governed rather by chance than by policy; and they felt that, though by strengthening the executive they were enabling it to become tyrannical, yet tyranny produced internal tranquillity, and that tranquillity was far more valuable than the incessant disorders of licentiousness. The Medici, indeed, were not without rivals as able and ambitious as themselves; nor could they always escape the doom which they inflicted on others. Thus, under a hostile gonfalonier, Cosmo was banished; and against Pietro, his son, a conspiracy was formed by a hostile faction, to ruin, perhaps to extirpate, his family. But the Medici had more clients than any family, however royal, in Europe. By their immense wealth, they had been able to place the most eloquent and considerable citizens under legal no less than friendly obligations to them; they had devoted partisans in every rank of the community. Pietro triumphed over his adversaries by the election of a gonfalonier, and of the subordinate members of the signiory, entirely devoted to him. Thus, even when the Medici were not in office, they swayed the republic. The result was soon what any wise man must have foreseen. The family, from being the chief of a powerful faction, was soon regarded as the virtual protector of the state,

— as the only one worthy, by its riches and liberality, of holding or of directing the reins of government. The gonfalonier was but its creature. If this novel influence had always been patriotically exercised, some palliation would have attended the ambition; but the sons of Pietro, Lorenzo and Giuliano, who continued the commercial establishments of their ancestors, are charged, apparently on the best grounds, with embezzling the money of the state to repair their losses. Unable to shake their power, a desperate faction undertook to remove them by assassination; not in the streets or in their houses, where they were always attended by armed men, but in the cathedral of Florence. Giuliano fell; but Lorenzo, though wounded, had time to draw his sword, and, with two attendants, to parry the blows until his creatures advanced to his assistance. The ill success of this conspiracy naturally augmented the influence of the Medici, who began to be styled, what they really were, princes of Florence. In 1494, however, on the invasion of Charles VIII. their enemy, they were expelled by an inconstant populace; and their exile, owing to the troubles of the times, was protracted for years. But during this interval the government became more and more oligarchical; since the gonfalonier of justice was named for life. In 1512, the Medici were recalled, — chiefly through foreign means, — to the head of the government; and their influence was crowned by the election of Giovanni, their chief, to the pontifical throne, under the name of Leo X.*

The subsequent fate of Florence and Tuscany must be despatched in a few words. Under Clement VII. (Giulio de' Medicis), the Florentines, at the instigation of France, threw off their allegiance to that family, 1530, &c.

* Dino Compagni, Chronica Florentinum, p. 463—536. Giovanni Villani, Istorie Fiorentine, p. 1—1000. Matteo et Filippo Villani, Istorie, p. 1—760. Gino Capponi, Monumenta Historica de Rebus Florentinorum, p. 1097, &c. Leonardo Aretino, Comentarios, p. 909, &c. Poggio, Historia Florentina, p. 157, &c. Scipione Ammirato, necnon Machiavelli, Istor. Fior. (in a multitude of places). Guicciardini, Istoria d'Italia (sub propriis annis). Sismondi, Hist. des Rép. tom. ii.—xi.

and entered into the alliance against Charles V.; but they were reduced by the pope and the emperor, and the authority of the Medici was restored. In 1532, another important change was effected in the constitution,—the office of gonfalonier of justice was abolished, and Alexander de' Medicis was proclaimed hereditary duke of Florence; at the same time two councils were created, the two hundred and the senate, the members of which sat for life, and were the creatures of the duke. The new dignity was strengthened by the marriage of Alexander with a daughter of the emperor; and though he was soon assassinated, Cosmo, one of his kinsmen (he died without issue), succeeded him. In 1569, Cosmo I., who successfully extended his sway over the neighbouring towns, was created by Pius V. grand duke of Tuscany; and, in 1575, the dignity was confirmed to his son and successor Francesco, by the emperor Maximilian. In 1737, on the death of Giovanni Gaston, the male line of the grand-ducal family became extinct, and the duchy passed into the house of Austria. The house of Lorraine, a younger branch of the imperial family, has ever since possessed the government, with one short interruption occasioned by Buonaparte. *

Before we take our leave of the provinces which formed the ancient kingdom of the Lombards, we may take a brief glance at their more recent condition. The fragments of that kingdom, as we have seen, constituted a great number of republics, all professedly independent, yet that independence depending only on the chances of war, or on the good pleasure of more powerful neighbours. Too weak to sustain it,—weak alike from internal dissension and want of resources,—many fell a successive prey to the dukes of Milan, while the houses of Della Scala, Carrara, Este, Gonzaga, and Medici, seized on a great portion of the rest,—some of them to be dispossessed by the republic of Venice, while Bologna and Ferrara were merged in the domain of St. Peter. In the reign of

* Authorities,—the general histories of Europe.

the emperor Charles V. two republics only in all Italy were found to remain,— Genoa and Venice,— and the former preserved its independence only during the pleasure of France. From the same reign may be dated the establishment of the petty sovereignties into which the country was divided. The Milanese, as we have before observed, were soon lost in the empire; the marches of Verona and Treviso in the republic of St. Mark; but most of the other sovereignties have subsisted to our own times. 1. *Parma* and *Placenza*, now comprehending the duchy of Parma, after following the uncertain fortunes of the Lombards, of independent republics, and of the duchy of Milan, were seized by pope Julius II. in virtue of ancient pretensions: he, however, acknowledged himself a feudatory of the emperors. In 1547, they were made over by pope Paul III. to his son Ludovico Farnese, whose descendants continued to enjoy them until the marriage of Isabella Farnese with Philip V. of Spain: they were subsequently seized by Buonaparte; and at the peace of Vienna were transferred to Maria Louisa, the consort of that extraordinary man: on her death, however, they revert to an Italian branch of the house of Bourbon. 2. *Mantua*, though now, as formerly, merged in the kingdom of Lombardy, could at one period boast not merely of independence, but of strength. From the decline of its republic, it became, like the other cities of northern Italy, a prey to feudal tyranny, until the government was seized by the house of Gonzaga early in the fourteenth century. About a century afterwards it was created a marquisate by the emperor Sigismund, and a duchy by Charles V. But in the war of the succession to the crown of Spain, the last duke of Mantua, Carlo IV., declared for the Bourbons, and, in consequence, lost his sovereignty, which was annexed to the empire. 3. Like Parma, *Modena* was anciently claimed by the church, in virtue of imperial concessions; like that city, too, it passed through the successive dangers imposed on it

by Lombard, imperial, and republican rule, until it acquired podestas, ultimately tyrants, of its own. In the thirteenth century it was made dependent on the Esti of Ferrara; in the fifteenth it was created a dukedom, but both it and Reggio were subject to Ferrara until the extinction of the legitimate male line of Este in 1597. By the emperor Rodolf II. the fiefs of Modena and Reggio were conferred on an illegitimate prince of the family, whose descendants retained it unto the latter half of the eighteenth century, when the male line became extinct, and the fief was conferred by an imperial diet on a prince of the house of Austria.* 4. *Ferrara*, after flourishing as a republic, fell under the dominion of the house of Este in the thirteenth century. But the whole of Romagna, with all that now forms the states of the church, was ceded about the same time to the holy see by the emperor Rodolf I.: the dukes of Ferrara were vassals, often kinsmen, of the popes. On the failure of issue male in that family, the fief reverted to the chair of St. Peter, which has since immediately exercised the temporal jurisdiction. It forms an integral portion of the Ecclesiastical States, while Modena and Parma obey sovereigns dependent on the empire. 5. *Bologna*, which was also an imperial city, next a republic, passed, in the thirteenth century, in virtue of Rodolf's cession, under the dominion of the holy see.† Of its celebrated university, mention will be made in the ensuing chapter. 6. Of *Savoy*, and the other Italian possessions of the king of Sardinia, we have nothing to say in the present book, since the history of those regions is connected rather with the history of France than that of Italy. The kingdom of Sardinia, which has been amplified at the expense of the Milanese and of the Genoese territories, is little more

* *Massa* has now a separate sovereign; but on the death of the present duchess, it reverts to Modena, on which it formerly depended. In the same manner *Lucca*, which is now subject to Parma, will soon pass to the grand duchy of Tuscany.

† See the next chapter, which will treat more at length of the origin and progress of papal sovereignty.

than a century old; but we cannot enter into the history of changes which have been effected within a comparatively modern period.*

IV. VENICE.—The islands at the mouths of the numerous rivers which flow into the north-western part of the Adriatic offered the inhabitants of Aquileja, Padua, Concordia, and other towns, a refuge from the fury of Attila. They founded the city of Rialto, to which they gave the same municipal government that had distinguished the free cities of the empire. Their numbers were swelled by the fugitives whom other barbarian victors forced from their native homes. There, secure in their almost inaccessible situation, they silently cemented the foundations of their state. A proof that they knew how to defend their new liberty, was exhibited as early as the commencement of the sixth century, when the Slavi, who had just settled on the opposite coast of Illyria, began by their piracies to disturb the trade of Rialto: the pirates were subdued, and Dalmatia subjected to the republic. The invasion of the Lombards, by forcing the prelates of Aquileja, Oderso, Altino, &c. to seek refuge in the isles, gave dignity to the state: the exiled churchmen founded cathedrals, and were the more pleased with their new flocks when they perceived that the sees they had left were filled by Arians. But the people soon found that the institutions of Rome were no longer adapted to their situation: to end the quarrels of the consular tribunes, each island regarding itself as independent of the rest, in 697 the inhabitants of all met in a general assembly at Heraclea; and there, in conformity with the advice of their patriarch (that of Grado), they placed themselves under the authority of a duke or doge, whose chief duty was to restrain the turbulent, to punish the rebellious, and defend the state against its foreign enemies. The new governor, whose powers were almost

516 to 997.

* The authorities on which the above paragraph is founded, are too numerous to be cited: they comprise the histories of Italy, of Venice, of Germany, and in fact of all Europe.

monarchical, amply fulfilled the expectation of the people; domestic faction was quelled; the pirates were driven from their neighbouring haunts; but the sway of his successors was felt to be onerous, and more than one forfeited his life to the offended justice of the people. At this period, too, Pepin invaded Italy, and, with the view of weakening the Eastern emperors, advanced pretensions to Dalmatia and Istria; which appear to have been conceded to the Greeks: this aggression forced the Venetians into the arms of that empire; in revenge, two of their islands were taken by the French, and they were compelled to concentrate alike their government and resources at Rialto, where they well knew the heavy vessels of the enemy could not pursue them. Those vessels made the attempt, but they were soon fast in shallows which the light barks of the republicans could traverse without difficulty; and they became an easy prey. From this period the Rialto became the seat of government, and received the name of Venice, which was that of the whole republic. To secure an unbroken communication with the sixty surrounding islets, bridges were thrown over the straits, and all became one great metropolis, which required little art to fortify against the assaults of new swarms of pirates. The body of St. Mark was removed with great pomp from Alexandria to the cathedral prepared for it, and the republic was thenceforth placed under his protection, and called after his name. But the disputes of angry parties again disturbed its peace; the Adriatic was again exposed to pirates, — to those of Narenta, and the Mohammedans of Sicily and Africa. As Narenta was nearly opposite to Ancona, some idea may be formed of the imminency of the danger. But the dissension of the patrician families continued, and enabled the pirates to form settlements in the ports of Istria. The power of the new comers might probably have been consolidated, had they not exasperated the Venetians by a daring and insulting act. They knew that the marriages of the Venetian nobles and of the

richest citizens were celebrated annually, in the same church and at the same hour; that the bridal parties were always unarmed; and, with a spirit characteristic of their profession, they resolved to carry away the brides, adorned with jewels and gold. This bold enterprise was successfully executed; a formidable band of armed men, who had lain hid in a desert island, rushed into the church, dragged the maidens from the foot of the altar, and re-embarked in triumph before any force could be collected to oppose them. But the affront was too deadly not to rouse the citizens, who collected in great numbers, embarked, pursued, and exterminated the ravishers. The vengeance must have been sudden, since the same day witnessed the restoration of the brides. In the subsequent wars, the city of Narenta, the stronghold of piracy, was taken and destroyed; and the small republican towns, which, during the misfortunes of the Greek empire, had sprung up in Illyria, were persuaded, or forced, not only to do homage to that of St. Mark, but to receive their magistrates from it.*

Omitting the conquests of the Venetians over a people whom they had long regarded as enemies, the Greeks of Constantinople — conquests which properly belong to the history of the Crusades, — the most striking object exhibited by the republic, during the middle ages, is its peculiar constitution. The other republics commenced with democratic institutions, this with one nearly monarchical, since the powers with which the duke or doge was invested, were those of royalty. He was the supreme judge; he was the general of the army; he was the head of the executive; he was elected for life, and he often transferred the dignity to his heir; his court was pompous, formed after the model of that of Constantinople. The government would soon have degenerated into a despotism, had not a check been exercised 1032 to 1230.

* Andrea Dandolo, Chronica Venetum à Pontificatu S. Marci, &c. lib. i.—ix. (in multis capitulis). Marino Sanuto, Istoria ossia Vite de Duchi de Venezia, p. 599, &c. Andrea Navagiero, Storia Veneziana, p. 919—957. Sismondi, Hist. des Rép. tom. i. chap. 5.

over it by the frequent assemblies of the people. About the commencement of the eleventh century, all classes perceived that the power of the doge was inconsistent with liberty; nobles and citizens joined in placing restrictions to it. The first of these limitations appears to have been an association with him of a council of two individuals noted for wisdom, without whose concurrence he should undertake nothing; and, when decisions of more than ordinary importance were to be taken, that he should be compelled to deliberate with such of the principal citizens as he might consider able to advise him. These counsellors were called *pregadi*, or the invited. But these limitations time proved to be insufficient. The popular assemblies, to which all were indiscriminately admitted, and with which alone lay the decision of affairs that were truly national, were too tumultuous, and too seldom convoked, to exercise much influence over the executive. It was resolved to make these assemblies representative, by delegating to a certain number, called the grand council, the duty of watching over the government, and of defending the rights of all. The new members were 480, or eighty from each of the six great divisions of the city, whose election was *annual*. As this council was invested with such ample powers, since its sittings would be permanent, and it would not only exercise a conjoint authority with the doge, but control him, this limitation of time was exceedingly judicious; had the council been perpetual, it would soon have reduced prince and people to slavery. But — and to this oversight was owing the peculiarly aristocratic nature of the Venetian government — these members were always the most important and noble of the citizens, and were elected not by the people, but by twelve tribunes, two chosen from each quarter of the city. Another innovation, and one still more fatal, was subsequently introduced — that even these twelve electors should cease to be returned by the inhabitants; that they should be nominated by the grand council. By this extraordinary measure, the people ceased to have

a virtual share in the representation. Even this did not satisfy the council, which, under the pretext of limiting the possible abuse of their trust by the electors, soon contended that the nominations of the 480 members were only designations; and that the confirmation or rejection of the future members should rest with the council prior to its dissolution. As the twelve tribunes would inevitably be the creatures of the council, a considerable number of the former members would be re-elected; and this number would be still augmented by the privilege of exception, and of substituting themselves for the members thus excepted. The result was such as might have been infallibly predicted: in a century the grand council was hereditary in the chief families of the republic. But it was far from satisfied with these monstrous usurpations; and its next step was to change the constitution of the ducal council of the pregadi. Instead of leaving the choice and convocation of the members to the doge, the grand council in 1229 decreed that they should be sixty in number, that they should be nominated by itself and from its own body, and that their powers should be subordinate to its own. Even now the grand council professed to dread the possible ambition of the doge, the nomination of whom it had usurped from the assembly of the people. To avert this improbable, perhaps impossible, result, two new tribunals were constituted. The first, which consisted of five members, always assembled before the election of a new doge, to make such alterations in, or additions to, the oaths to be taken by the next chief of the republic, as might be framed by the grand council. But authority will sometimes disregard even the solemn obligation of an oath, and, in the complicated course of public affairs, cases would sometimes occur, the decision of which, though virtually, could not be specifically, involved in the terms of the obligation. Hence, the second tribunal, which consisted of three members, was held on the death of each doge, to compare his conduct with his oaths, to receive the complaints of the people, to ap-

prove or to censure his administration, to declare his memory glorious or infamous, and in the latter case to fine his heirs more or less heavily, according to the nature of the charges substantiated against him.*

1230 to 1249. From the course of Venetian history we learn that both tribunals exercised their functions with jealous rigour. How the former, that of the five correctors of the ducal oath, proceeded, may be seen in the famous collection of Ducal Obligations, which consists of above one hundred chapters, and which appears to derive its origin from the middle of the thirteenth century. At his inauguration the doge promised to execute the laws of the state, and the decrees of the councils; not to correspond with foreign powers, nor to receive their ambassadors, nor to open their letters, except in presence of a certain number of counsellors; nay, he was even prohibited from opening the letter of any subject of the state, unless one member at least were present. He could not possess property beyond the confines of the republic; he could not administer criminal justice, which was confided to another council, that of Forty, the members being nominated by the grand council, from its own body. He swore not to seek directly or indirectly the augmentation of his authority; not to allow any relative to exercise any part of his duty; and never to allōw any citizen to bend to him, or to kiss his hand. Though these and other restrictions virtually rendered him the submissive servant of the grand council, the nobles were yet afraid lest the office should be usurped by some leading, perhaps some rival family. This jealousy of one another was the cause of a system of election more complicated than that of any other country under heaven. At first this election was confided to twenty-four, afterwards to forty members of the grand council, all chosen by lot, and by the same process the number was reduced to eleven, who exercised the suffrage. But

* Sandi, Storia Civile di Venezia (as quoted by Sismondi), p.ll. tom. ii. lib. 3. et 4. Sismondi, Histoire des Républiques Ital. tom. ii. chap. 20. p. 344—351. Botta, Storia dei Popoli Italiani, tom. ii. chap. 25. The authorities on the ancient constitution and history of Venice are very few.

lest factions should succeed in placing a creature in the ducal chair, the process was rendered elaborate enough to defy the chance of calculation. Thirty members were chosen by lot; by the same process the number was reduced to nine: these nine, of whom seven must always agree, elected forty other members to fill their place, whom the last reduced to twelve. In the same manner these twelve were forced to change, and to vacate their functions in favour of twenty-five other members, whom the lot reduced to nine; and these nine nominated forty-five others, whom the same process reduced to eleven. Nor were these eleven suffered to elect the doge: they nominated forty-one, with whom the election verily rested, provided their choice were supported by a majority of about eight to five. In any other country, where any degree of responsibility rested in the chief thus elected, where talents or virtue were required, where victory was to be gained or justice to be impartially administered, such a mode must have been hazardous. But Venice did not depend on the government of the doge; he was the slave of other powers; and his personal qualities had little influence on the weal or woe of the community.*

It must not be supposed that the monstrous usurpations of the grand council were regarded with indifference by the people. For some time the tendency of most, of those especially which virtually involved the hereditary succession of certain families, was unperceived. When it was seen that none were returned to the grand council except such as had previously sat in it, or such as descended from ancestors who had, the murmurs were not perhaps very loud, but they were general and deep, especially among those who were thus unjustly excluded from all the paths leading to ambition. On the death of Giovanni Dandolo, in 1289, the great body of citizens resolved to wrest the election from the hands of the forty-one. With this view, and 1249 to 1310.

* The three authorities last quoted.

in the hope that the new doge would assist them in opening the grand council to popular suffrage, they assembled in the place of St. Mark, and tumultuously proclaimed Giacomo Tiepolo, whose father had filled the same dignity. Tiepolo, too wise or too timid to accept the dangerous post at such a crisis, after vainly attempting to restore order, fled to Treviso, while the grand council, emboldened by his flight, conferred it on Pietro Gradenigo, a resolute advocate of aristocracy, and in the same degree hostile to the people. By his firmness, by the forces placed at his disposal, by the rigour of his punishments — the chiefs of the recent insurrection being driven into exile, or imprisoned, — Gradenigo restored tranquillity. But he was far from satisfied with the triumph: he had resolved to destroy the very forms of popular government. The caution with which he proceeded in his object ensured its success. With an understanding that none of the past members should be excluded from the grand council except for civil crimes, he persuaded them to transfer the privilege of election from the twelve tribunes to the chief council of Forty. Hitherto, though the people had possessed no voice in the return of the members, yet as the elections were annual, and as eighty were returned from each of the six districts, the form of representation subsisted. The council of Forty would naturally be more devoted to the aristocracy than the tribunes. Successive improvements on this innovation were made by the doge and grand council, until 1319, when, by a decree of that body, seats were declared to be strictly hereditary—every noble candidate being allowed, on attaining his twenty-fifth year, to inscribe his name in the golden volume, and to take his seat in the assembly as a matter of right. During these extraordinary usurpations, the middle class of citizens, — the flower of every community, — were far from tranquil spectators; but their efforts only served to confirm the authority of the nobles. The first insurrection of 1299 was speedily extinguished in the blood of the actors; the second, of 1310, was much

more formidable; but after a violent struggle it ended in the expulsion of the leaders.*

The difficulty with which the last insurrection had been quelled, — an insurrection in which some of the noblest families had participated, — struck terror into the government. It might again break out; it might be now organising; with greater precautions, greater means, and more probability of success. It was at this precise period that another and most tremendous innovation was made in the constitution of Venice, — the formation of the Council of Ten. This council was charged with the discovery and punishment of felony and high treason among the nobles; its spies were to be numerous; its proceedings wrapped in mystery, so as to strike the greater terror into the citizens; it was invested with powers amenable neither to the other authorities, nor to the laws; it was absolute even over the dreaded grand council; it disposed of the troops and money of the republic at its pleasure. How the grand council could thus create for itself a despotic master may seem strange; but, as the members of this supreme tribunal were invariably taken from the other, some renewable every four, some every eight, the rest every twelve months, each noble might hope to enjoy a short period, at least, of unbounded power, might pass from the situation of a slave to that of a despot. The number, however, consisted not merely of ten, but of seventeen members; there were ten *black* counsellors, (so called from the colour of their robes,) chosen annually; six *red* ones, — of whom three were renewed every four months, — with the president and doge, who sat for life. This tribunal probably received its designation of *ten*, from a regulation that in every decision there should be at least that number of votes. Though its proceedings spread dismay throughout the state; though secret accusations were of perpetual occurrence, the 1310.

* Andrea Dandolo, Venetorum Chronicon (in ultimis paginis). Marino Sanuto, Vite di Duchi de Venezia, p. 580—588. Andrea Navagiero, Storia Veneziana, p. 1006—1116. Sandi, Storia di Venezia (as cited by Sismondi), p. ii. liv. 5. Muratori, Annali d'Italia (sub propriis annis). Sismondi, Histoire, tom. iii. ch. 28. Botta, Storia, ii. 25.

accused being suddenly arrested, hurried off to prison, tried without being confronted with the witnesses against him, without so much as knowing their names; though he was usually condemned, and executed without delay, and in profound secrecy, his fate being conjectured only from his disappearance among men; no effort was ever seriously made to abolish it. Yet such abolition would have been easy; for the grand council had only to withhold its renewal by refusing to elect its members, and it would have been constitutionally dissolved. In times comparatively recent, indeed, the intention was sometimes manifested; but, when the period of renewal arrived, the numbers continued to be filled up as before. There seems indeed to have existed a general impression that its labours were necessary, if not to the existence, at least to the greatness, of the country. That greatness appears to have been its undivided object. It watched with jealousy over the conduct of all the servants of the state, from the doge, general, and admiral, from the heads of the different departments, and the governors of the various islands in the German Archipelago, in the Adriatic, and in the eastern ports of the Mediterranean, down to the ordinary ministers of justice, to the subordinate officers by sea and land. Concentrating into one point the scattered powers of government, directing the national resources with unity of purpose, vigilant, unchangeable, unforgiving, it made the republic respected abroad, and dreaded at home.*

1310 to 1355. The tranquillity which reigned at Venice,—that of despotism,—when contrasted with the wild licence which perpetually agitated the republics of Tuscany and Lombardy, made the great body of Venetian citizens almost satisfied with their lot. They always felt, indeed, some degree of mortification at their exclusion from the privilege of election, but that of the nobles who were excluded from the grand council was of a far more bitter kind. Yet, from the hopelessness of suc-

* The same authorities.

cess, scarcely any attempt was made to change the existing order of things. That of the doge, Marino Falieri, in 1355, originated not so much in patriotism, as in individual jealousy and revenge. Falieri, who had passed his fifteenth lustre, had been foolish enough to marry a young lady of great beauty and elegance, and the union was naturally, perhaps inevitably, accompanied by suspicions on the part of the doting husband. They chiefly fell on the president of the Old or Criminal Forty, (so called to distinguish that tribunal from two others of less dignity, which took cognizance of minor matters,) whom he somewhat rudely expelled from his house at an entertainment he had given to the nobility. The president felt the insult the more deeply, as his attentions had not been devoted to the wife of the doge, but to one of her women. In the impulse of the moment he wrote on the throne of the doge a verse which, whether founded in truth or not, he knew must sorely wound him, as reflecting on his honour and the fidelity of his consort.* Falieri discovered the writer, and denounced him to the public advocates; but, contrary to his expectation, those men, considering the offence a venial one, carried the cause, not before the tremendous council of Ten, but the Criminal Forty,—the very tribunal of which the accused was president. The culprit met with favour; he was condemned only to one month's imprisonment. From this moment the doge indulged uncontrolled animosity against the tribunal, and even the whole order of nobles, whom he regarded as the betrayers of his honour. It was followed by the hope of revenge. He knew the dissatisfaction entertained by both the plebeians and the less privileged nobles towards the government, and he artfully endeavoured to foment it. His reply to a citizen who one day complained before him that a wife or daughter had been dishonoured or insulted by a member of the grand council, produced great impression: "You will never obtain justice. Have not I

* "Marin Falieri dalla bella moglie,
Altri la gode ed egli mantiene."

myself been insulted, without the hope of adequate redress?" In a short time he organised a conspiracy, the object of which was to open the grand council to the nobility and the election of the members of all the public functionaries, of the doge himself, to the citizens at large. The evening before the day fixed for its execution, it was denounced by one of the conspirators; others were arrested and tortured; Falieri was soon implicated in their confessions, was arrested, tried, and beheaded by the Council of Ten.*

1355 to 1503. Until the period at which we are arrived, Venice, satisfied with her numerous colonies (chiefly insular), and her lucrative traffic, — a traffic, however, in which the nobles were not allowed personally to appear, — had not sought to extend her territories on the continent of Italy. From the Greek empire she had made some important conquests, consisting chiefly of islands bounding on Greece, and of some fortresses on the south-eastern shores of the Adriatic. In 1204, while in alliance with the French, she had assisted in the capture of Constantinople, and the conquest of Romania, and had shared in the fortunes of the Latin empire. Her share of the spoil had been three eighths: hence the singular title of her chief magistrate, Duke of Three eighths of the Roman Empire. Even after the expulsion of the Latins, her territories were of respectable extent: mistress of Dalmatia, of several fortresses in Albania and the Morea, of the Ionian islands, of most of those in the Grecian Archipelago and the Levant, especially of Candia, and eventually of Cyprus;† holding, conjointly with Genoa, the exclusive commerce of the coast, she might have remained contented with her lot; but when Mastino della Scala, lord of Verona, threatened her immediate vicinity, she joined with the Florentines against him, and took possession

* Matteo Villani, Istoria, liv. v. cap. 13. Marin Sanuto, Storia, p. 629—634. Andrea Navagiero, Storia di Venezia, p. 1044, &c. Sandi, Storia, as cited by Sismondi, liv. v. Muratori, Annali, an. 1355. Sismondi, Histoire, tom. iv. ch. 41.

† This island did not come into the possession of the republic until 1473.

of Treviso with its territory. In her unfortunate war with Genoa, when her very existence was menaced by a formidable invasion of the enemy — an invasion which she at length repelled, — she lost that conquest, but only to regain it in 1389. Early in the fifteenth century, during the waning grandeur of the dukes of Milan, she conquered Padua, Verona, and Vicenza, — a considerable increase of territory, which had never before owned any village a dozen miles from the coast. The subsequent reduction of Friuli and most of Istria, territories which she had possessed in the infancy of her existence, and lost during her disputes with Greece and Hungary, — with the Hungarian princes of Naples she had often been at war, — only inflamed her ambition to profit by the errors or dissensions of her neighbours. In 1426, in the war with Filippo Maria, duke of Milan, she conquered Brescia and Bergamo, and removed her boundary to the Adda, which she was never destined to pass. We may here observe, that all those conquests were achieved by foreign generals, — for the republic never trusted her own subjects with the command of armies, — and that some of them, when success once forsook them, were cruelly and perfidiously put to death by the suspicious Council of Ten. Most of these successes were obtained under the doge Francesco Foscari, and they naturally surrounded his administration with considerable splendour. This was enough to awaken the jealousy of the aristocracy: he had the mortification to witness the torture and banishment of a son unjustly suspected, and immediately afterwards his own deposition, under the pretext of old age. — The republic had soon a terrific enemy to oppose, the Turks, who wrested from her most of her insular possessions, as well as of her fortresses on the coasts of Illyria and Greece. *

The future transactions of Venice do not fall within the scope of this work. We may observe, that during 1500 &c.

* Authorities, in addition to three before cited, the general historians of Italy.

the interminable wars of the Germans, French, and Spaniards, in Italy, her continental territories, — almost the only ones left to her, — were often over-run, and that they were only partially restored on the conclusion of peace; that in her subsequent wars with the Turks, which continued until 1718, she lost the remainder of her insular possessions, and all her Greek fortresses; that her internal prosperity fled, her commerce and riches declined, her tribunals were polluted by venality, her nobles were poor men, yet cruel in the support of their privileges; that the government grew Machiavelian and corrupt, and the encourager of corruption in others; that it consequently became detestable to the people, and was braved with impunity by open banditti; that, in the wars of Buonaparte, she preserved a supine position, until she herself was invaded by the men who had cajoled her; that she subsequently formed a part of the kingdom of Italy, under the viceroy Eugene Beauharnois; and that, on the downfall of the emperor and king, she was ceded to the house of Austria, whose domination she is likely to support until all Italy shall be wise enough to combine for its freedom and independence.*

589 to 1000. V. NAPLES AND SICILY. The conquests of the Lombards were not confined to the kingdom which bears their name. In somewhat less than thirty years from their first irruption into Italy, under their third king, Anthar, they subdued Beneventum, a country comprehending the central portion of the modern kingdom of Naples, and established in the city of that name, a duke, Zoto, who was to hold it as a fief of the iron crown. At this time the new duchy was encompassed by enemies. To the north was the pope, the duke of Rome and the Greek exarch of Ravenna, to whom were subject the Pentapolis and the march of Ancona, and who had the nomination of the governors of Naples, Calabria, and Lucania. On the western coast were Gaëta, Amalfi,

* See the general histories of Europe.

Naples, and other flourishing ports subject to the Greeks; there were also a few, though of less importance, to the east and south, such as Otranto, Gallipoli, Rossano, Reggio, Santa Severina, Crotona, &c., which, with Apulia and Calabria, were obedient to the successors of Constantine. In this direction the Lombards did not extend their conquests: they even lost Bari and the Capitanate, two important provinces which were re-conquered by the maritime inhabitants; and their efforts against the three western ports were unsuccessful. With the most powerful of them, Naples, Arichis, duke of Beneventum, was glad to enter into an alliance against Pepin, after the subversion of the Lombard kingdom. Though he and his two successors did homage to the Carlovingian emperors, they virtually preserved their independence until those princes became too weakened by unnatural contentions to be feared. When the famous schism of the iconoclasts began to distract the church, the inhabitants of the western parts, who adhered to the idolatry of Rome, lost their attachment to the empire, especially when they found that assistance was no longer to be expected from it. Sicard, the Lombard duke, thinking that Naples could no longer resist, invested it, but without effect: however, he subdued Amalfi, an ally of Naples. To oppose him, the governor, or master of the soldiers, of that city, had recourse to a most dangerous expedient. He called in the assistance of the Saracens, who, in 822, had obtained a footing in Sicily, who possessed Palermo, Messina, and the greater part of the island, and were anxious to establish themselves in the maritime towns of southern Italy. In a few years they effected their purpose, and became formidable enough to fill their neighbours with apprehension. On the assassination of Sicard in 839, by his own subjects, whom his tyranny had exasperated, the inhabitants of Amalfi, who had been forcibly located with those of Salerno, hastily returned to their native city, which they rebuilt, and which they constituted into a republic

independent alike of Beneventum and Naples. The people of Salerno themselves refused to acknowledge Sicard's successor, to whom they opposed a rival prince, and a war inevitably followed, which ended by a treaty as ruinous as the war itself. By it the duchy was divided into two principalities; the one, Salerno, comprising the western or Mediterranean side of the peninsula, except Ulterior Calabria, which still belonged to the Greeks, and the republics of Gaëta, Naples, and Amalfi; the other, Beneventum, the eastern or Adriatic side, from the march of Ancona to the extremity of Otranto, except the towns in possession of the infidels, whom both princes had engaged as auxiliaries, and whom both united were afterwards unable to expel. This division of the Lombard sovereignty was fatal to it: hostilities were the inevitable consequence. The local towns, one by one, asserted their independence, until the territory of both princes was confined to little more than their capitals. There was now no power sufficient to overcome the Saracens, who spread along both coasts, and menaced Rome itself. The three republics were safe; an advantage which they owed to their spirit of enterprise, their maritime superiority, and, above all, to that love which men always feel for their country, when that country furnishes them with the means of comfort. But the incursions of the Saracens, who possessed the mountainous defiles, and the efforts of the Greeks to regain the empire which they had lost, made southern Italy a constant theatre of horrors. Its numerous princes acknowledged themselves the vassals, now of Greece, now of the western empire. After the accession of the house of Saxony, which was resolved to free the country from both Christian and Mohammedan adventurers, the war was conducted with renewed vigour. Otho I. at length made peace with the Greek court, reserving to himself the greater portion of the country; Otho II. was signally defeated in Calabria Ulterior by a combined army of Greeks and Saracens. After this disaster the former

extended their conquests to the very centre of the duchy, and the latter their ravages as far as the Tiber.*

But the fate of these regions was now about to be changed, and by a class of men whom we should not have expected to find amidst the sultry valleys of southern Italy. The Northmen, or Normans, had founded a dynasty in Neustria, a province thenceforth called Normandy; they had embraced Christianity; and in their attachment to pilgrimage, which now became so common, to the Holy Land, they surpassed all the European people. This was consistent enough with the habits of men, the most enterprising, courageous, and valiant on earth. Two motives appear to have directed their route to Naples: Mounts Cassino and Gargano were illustrious for miracles; and from Naples, Gaëta, Amalfi, or Bari, parts which maintained a constant intercourse with the East, a passage to Syria might easily be obtained. Early in the eleventh century, while forty of these adventurers were at Salerno, on their return from the Holy Land, a Saracen fleet anchored off the coast, and demanded heavy contributions as a reward for sparing the city. The Normans instantly asked Guiomar III., prince of the place, for arms. To the astonishment of the inhabitants, they mounted their steeds, caused the gates to be opened, and plunged into the midst of the misbelievers, many of whom they slew, the rest they forced precipitately to embark. Guiomar, with the hope of retaining them at his court, offered them riches and honours as the condition; and when he found them resolved to revisit their homes, he brought them to proclaim his offers among their kindred and friends. It appears, however, that the Normans had no great reason to be dissatisfied with their own country: one knight only, Drengot by name, who, from a deadly feud with a noble of his

1000 to 1053.

* Camillus Peregrinus, Dissertationes de Ducatu Beneventano, p. 165, &c. Erchempertus Monachus, Historia Longobardorum Benevent. cap. 1—17. p. 235—242. Anonymus Salernitanus, Paralipomena, p. 159—232. Lupus Protospata, Chronicon Barense, p. 39, &c. Leo Ostiensis, Chronica Sacri Monasterii Cassinensis, lib. i. et ii. p. 159—360. Anonymus, Chronicon Cassinense, p. 135, &c. Sismondi, Hist. des Rép. tom. i. ch. 4.

nation, was not averse to foreign adventure, resolved to collect his kindred and dependants, and sail for Italy. On his arrival there with about one hundred followers, he found the yoke of the Greeks no less detested than the depredations of the Saracens; that the pope, emperor, and feudatory were alike prepared to reduce the maritime places and the mountain forts. For some time their success was thwarted by obstacles which valour could not surmount. On one occasion they were defeated by a greatly superior force, and their leader slain; and the emperor, Henry II., whose army they had joined, was compelled by a pestilence to abandon the north of Italy. But under Rainolf, the brother of Drengot, they resolved to establish a sovereignty for themselves; and in this view they reduced Aversa, a fortress belonging to the duchy of Naples, which they fortified in opposition to the wish of that republic. That city, however, they had soon an opportunity of conciliating. When Pandolf IV., prince of Capua, took Naples by surprise, where open force would have failed, Sergius, master of the soldiers, and head of the commonwealth, fled to Aversa, implored the succours of the strangers, and with their aid expelled the garrison of Capua. The grateful chief erected Aversa into a fief, with which he invested the Norman leader as count Rainulf. But this leader was not destined to lay the foundation of Norman sovereignty. About this time and allured by the same hope of distinction, there arrived three sons of Tancred of Hauteville, an illustrious house of Neustria. In the war which ensued, both Greeks and Saracens were worsted, until all Apulia was wrested from the former, when the new conquests were partitioned among twelve counts, each with a town and territory. At the head of these adventurers was Guillaume Bras de Fer, eldest son of Tancred. But they acknowledged no subordination; they committed on churches and monasteries, Christians and infidels, friends and foes, excesses which neither Greek nor Saracen could have exceeded, until the pope, justly

regarding them as the greatest curse of the country, formed a league to expel them. At the head of a motley army of Romans, Germans, Greeks, Campanians, and Apulians, Leo IX. himself took the field. Guillaume was dead, but his brother Humbert filled his place: Humbert was assisted by Robert Guiscard, another son of Tancred, and by the count of Aversa. But if the Normans were robbers, according to the notions of the times, they were still Christians. One feeling they had characteristic of their profession,—an unwillingness to fight the pope, whom they vainly endeavoured to turn from hostilities. In the battle which ensued, Leo was signally defeated, and made prisoner; but he was treated with so much reverence* that he soon forgot his anger, and consented to become the friend of the people whom he had resolved to exterminate. The result could not have been foreseen by any human sagacity. Without even the shadow of a claim to those regions, he granted to the Normans the investiture of what they had conquered, or might in future conquer, in Apulia†, Calabria, and Sicily, to be held as a fief of the holy see. He thus, amidst the mortification of defeat, and the conviction of his own helplessness, secured an advantage which great victories could not have won: he laid the foundation of future sovereignty over the most important provinces of Italy: he prepared for the holy see a kingdom extensive and powerful enough to raise the successors of Peter the Fisherman to a level with the great sovereigns of Europe.‡

From this moment the most ambitious expectations

* "Hunc, genibus flexis Normannica gens veneratur,
Deposcens veniam; curvatos Papa benigne
Suscipit; oscula dant pedibus communiter omnes."—*Gul. Apul.*

† The Apulians, however, are said to have admitted the right of the holy see. Apulienses vero Leonem Apostolicum, ut in Apulia cum exercitu veniat, invitent, dicentes Apuliam sibi jure competere, et prædecessorum suorum temporibus juris Ecclesiæ Romanæ fuisse.—*Gaufr. Mal.* 1—14.

‡ Leo Ostiensis, Chronica Sacri Monasterii Casinensis, lib. ii. cap. 37—87, p. 362—402. Gulielmus Apuliensis, Rerum in Apulia, Campania, Calabria et Sicilia, lib. i. et ii. Gaufredus Malaterra, Rerum Roberti Guiscardi Cabriæ Ducis, et Rogerii Fratris ejus, lib. i. cap. 1—15. Anonymus, Chronicon Northmannicum, p. 2700. Summonte, Historia di Napoli, lib. i. cap. 13. Alexander Abbas Telesinus, De Rebus Gestis Rogerii, lib. i.

1053 to 1138. of the Normans could scarcely be deemed unreasonable. Humbert subdued the rest of Apulia, while Robert Guiscard warred in Calabria. On the death of the former, the latter succeeded to the lordship of Apulia, and confided to the youngest of his brothers, Roger, the conduct of the war in Calabria. But as this young knight was often left without supplies either of men or money, and as he in consequence felt some resentment at what he conceived to be the jealousy of Guiscard, he effected little. Indeed his irruption into his brother's territories were as frequent as into those of Saracen or Greek. Sometimes the brothers were in harmony, and then the reduction of the Greek fortresses was rapid. In 1060 the emperor had only five remaining; so that Robert, in the pride of success, assumed the higher title of duke. But Roger soon abandoned this arduous, and, as his conquests benefited only the duke, barren field, to labour in one for himself. At this time Sicily, which was wholly subject to Saracen emirs, in little harmony among themselves, offered splendid inducements to his ambition. In the hope of crushing a rival, one of them opened him a passage into the island. But as he could scarcely ever muster more than 300 knights, often not 200, as the Greek inhabitants were generally treacherous, he was often compelled to revisit the continent. His followers, too, whenever they had secured considerable booty, were eager to dissipate it in loose pleasures: they were in no disposition to rejoin his standard until they bordered on destitution. Hence it will create no surprise, that however great the valour of the assailants, thirty years should elapse before the island was subdued: our surprise will rather be that with forces so contemptible it was subdued at all. The last days of Roger, grand count of Sicily, which he governed as an hereditary fief dependent on the duchy of Apulia, appear to have been past in peace, if we except a dispute with his brother, who endeavoured to expel him from the continent. But he vindicated his claim to Apulia, defeated, and even captured duke Robert. A

reconciliation, however, was soon effected between them; they divided Apulia; Robert assisted in the first conquest of Sicily, and consented that it should be governed by Roger. Not so the days of Guiscard, whose ambition was even more restless, and who was always engaged in war. Little less time than had been necessary to his brother for the conquest of Sicily, sufficed to subdue the rest of Calabria, especially the ports held by the Greeks. But if his success was slow, it was gradual. In 1062 his ally, or rather vassal, Richard count of Aversa, conquered the principality of Capua; in 1077 that of Benevento, on the death of Landolf VI., was dismembered by himself; about the same time, aided by a fleet from Amalfi, he reduced Salerno, which he united with his other states; and he received the submission of his republican allies, to whom, however, he guaranteed their existing institutions. Thus perished the last of the Lombard dynasties, after a duration of five centuries. But Robert the Norman was not yet satisfied; with a handful of men he had founded a great state, and now, when he could wield its ample resources, he thought nothing impossible. It is certain that he aspired to no less a height than the subversion of the eastern empire; with this view he commenced an active course of hostilities, in which he not only reduced Corfu and Botronto, but had the glory to defeat Alexis Comnenus, in Greece, who advanced to the relief of Durazzo. His conquests would now have been doubtless considerable, had he not been recalled by the rebellion of his Italian states; and, after this was quelled, by the summons of his liege superior, Gregory VII., then besieged by Henry IV. in the castle of St. Angelo. Henry, like Alexis, retired before so renowned a warrior. But after his death his son and grandson successively had enough to do to maintain the integrity of his conquests. On the decease of the latter without issue, in 1127, Roger II., count of Sicily, inherited the continental possessions. This prince, who thus succeeded to such extensive states was dissatisfied with the title of duke: to obtain a higher one,

he lent his aid to the antipope, Anacletus II., who crowned him king of the Two Sicilies. This new dignity caused him to regard the republican institutions of Amalfi and Naples with dislike, perhaps with dread. He took the former, abolished its privileges, and subjected it to a feudal governor. His next step was to humble his proud barons, of whom some had too much power always to remain peaceful. It was attended with equal success; one after another all were subdued; but the chief, Robert, prince of Capua and Aversa, the descendant of Drengot, was destined to give him some trouble. Naples, though nominally subject to the Norman princes, still preserved its own government, laws, and institutions, and was prepared to defend them to the last extremity. It opened its gates to Robert, and thereby afforded another stimulus to the vengeance of Roger. The republicans obtained the aid of a fleet from Pisa; Amalfi was forced to equip another to oppose them; the Pisans plundered Amalfi, their chief prize being a copy of the famous Pandects, an accident which is said to have changed the jurisprudence of half Europe; they were defeated, and forced to re-embark by the king, who invested Naples more closely than before. The besieged applied for relief to the emperor and the true pope, Innocent II. Lothaire marched in person to their aid, while a Pisan fleet advanced by sea. The siege was raised; Robert of Capua was restored to his principality, and the whole country as far as Bari threw off its allegiance to the Normans. But discord soon appeared between the pope, the emperor, and the Pisans; their combined forces retired, and Roger had little difficulty in regaining possession of his territories. The fate of Leo IV., a century before, did not deter Innocent II. from taking the field against the excommunicated Normans; the result was the same; Innocent was defeated and made prisoner, and was glad to procure his liberation by confirming the regal title of Roger. He did more · he granted to the king the investiture not only of Capua, but of Naples, which had hitherto maintained some-

thing like independence, and over which he had assuredly no control. The republic, abandoned by its allies, was constrained to submit; the ducal crown was conferred on the king; the kingdom of the Two Sicilies was admitted into the great family of nations.*

The reign of *Roger II.* was one of vigour, of success, and of internal tranquillity. He humbled the Greek emperor, rendered tributary the Mohammedan tyrants of Tripoli and Tunis, built fortresses, churches, and monasteries, and administered justice with unparalleled severity, in regard not only to the poor, but to his haughty barons. The feudal system which had long before been introduced into Naples, he perfected; and extended its observance to Sicily, which had hitherto followed the policy of the Greeks and Saracens. By this revolution, the free colonists were at once transformed into vassals; new laws were introduced, which were calculated to confirm the ascendancy of the nobles and prelates; and new fiscal impositions followed, more oppressive, we are told, than any which had been invented by preceding conquerors. But here, as every where else, the same system also brought its advantages. In their native hills and forests, the Normans, like the Lombards, and, we may add, like all other people of Scandinavian or of Germanic descent, had been accustomed to meet twice a year, not merely to advise their chief, but to form a sort of diet or parliament, where their more weighty affairs were discussed and decided. At first these assemblies consisted of the conquerors only; but in time the more influential inhabitants were permitted to attend them. During a long

1138 to 1194.

* Anonymus, Historia Sicula, p. 829, &c. Petrus Diaconus, Chronicon Casinense, lib. iv. cap. 49. 96, 97. & 104. Gulielmus Gemmeticensis, Historia Normannorum, lib. vii. cap. 30. Odericus Vitalis, Hist. Ecclesiastica, lib. vii. Gulielmus Apuliensis, Rerum in Apulia, &c., lib. iii.—v. Ganfredus Malaterra, Historia Roberti Guiscardi, &c. lib. i. cap. 16—40. lib. ii. cap. 1—46. lib. iii. cap. 1—42., lib. iv. cap. 1—29. Appendix ad Historiam Gaufredi Malaterræ, p. 249, 250. Alexander Telesinus, Rogerii Siciliæ Regis, lib. i. et ii. Falco Beneventanus, Chronicon, p. 302—372. Camillus Peregrinus, Castigationes in Falconem Beneventanum, p. 383—397. Romualdus Salernitanus, Chronicon, passim. Antonio Summonte, Historia di Napoli, tom. i. lib. 1., tom. ii. lib. 2.

period, however — probably unto the reign of Frederic II. — they consisted of two estates only, the nobles and the ecclesiastics: the great body of the people had no rights, and consequently no representation. But as the towns purchased their independence of the feudal tribunals, and constituted themselves into municipal corporations; as the number of these corporations was multiplied by charters from the crown, the new communities were permitted to send deputies to their general meetings. The kings, who so often suffered from the powers of a haughty aristocracy, were here, as elsewhere, sufficiently disposed to encourage the formation and influence of this third chamber, or arm of the legislature. Besides, the burgesses were generally more able to supply the wants of the state; they were attached to the crown which had called them into existence; and among them justice was administered, at least in the last resort, by the royal judges. This triple power of the legislature was established contemporaneously both in the island and on the continent; but in the former, which had less intercourse with the world, it has subsisted in greater vigour down to our own times. But if Roger thus established his sovereignty, he had the mortification to lose his two eldest sons, and to see the succession depend on a third, who was at once vicious and imbecile. Soon after his death, which happened in 1154, troubles began to distract the realm. *William*, surnamed il Malo, or the Bad, could not at first obtain his recognition by the pope: in revenge he made an irruption into the papal possessions. In conformity with the custom of the age, he was excommunicated, and his vassals absolved from their allegiance; his own qualities inclined some of his barons to raise the standard of revolt, and a civil war ensued, which ended in his reconciliation with the pope, and his triumph over the rebels. At a subsequent period, however, a conspiracy to dethrone him was organized by one Mayo whom he had elected from an obscure station to the high post of chancellor and admiral. He was arrested

in his palace, and consigned to prison in his capital of Palermo, while his *eunuchs* (for he kept a seraglio), his confidential advisers, and the abettors of his tyranny, were cut to pieces, and his youthful son, Roger, duke of Apulia, was proclaimed in his stead. But the people of Palermo began to pity their captive monarch, instigated by the archbishop of Salerno and other chiefs, they hastened to the fortress, in a dungeon of which he was fettered, and loudly demanded his liberation. The terrified conspirators were constrained to obey, but not until they had wrung an oath from the king that he would bury the past in oblivion. During these commotions, duke Roger was wounded by an arrow; but the consequences would not have been serious, had not the incensed father, immediately after his enlargement, kicked the prince with so much force, that he fell to the ground; the wound was re-opened, and the termination fatal. Notwithstanding the oath he had taken, some of the conspirators were blinded, some imprisoned, while others effected their escape to Constantinople, the usual retreat of the disaffected. In his foreign policy, William I. adhered to his liege superior the pope, and was consequently in hostility to the emperors, who aimed at the subjugation of Italy. The same policy was pursued by the son and successor, William II., (1166) who, from qualities opposite to those of his father, obtained the surname of *The Good*. As his cares and treasures, however, were applied to the construction of churches and monasteries, history has little to record concerning him. He is said to have been the first who wholly subdued the Saracens of the interior. It is certain that they continued to form no inconsiderable portion of the population; and that, though they had stood in dread of Roger the first king, they had seized on the mountain passes during the reign of William I., whose power they had defied. But, as in the sequel they more than once issued from their mountains, and spread devastation throughout the island, it may be reasonably doubted whether he did more than deter

them from their usual depredations. As by his queen, a princess of England, he had neither issue, nor the hope of any, the succession rested in Constanza, a posthumous daughter of Roger I.* In the view of uniting the crowns of Lombardy and the Two Sicilies, her hand was demanded and obtained by Henry, son of Frederic Barbarossa, afterwards the emperor Henry VI. But after the death of William in 1189, the people, who disliked a foreign domination, and dreaded the fierce character of the Germanic princes, raised to the throne *Tancred*, count of Lecce, whose father, Roger, was the eldest son of king Roger.† Henry, who in the interim had succeeded to the imperial crown, armed for the rights of his consort. But Tancred defended his new dignity with success; he took the empress prisoner, whom he generously or politically dismissed; the formidable German army which invaded Apulia, was forced, by a contagious disease, to retire; and the country was recovered by the king. But the grief of Tancred for the loss of his eldest son having brought him to the grave, and his second son William, his recognised successor, being an infant, Henry reasserted his claims, ravaged the continent, invaded Sicily, and soon seized on the supreme authority. He abused his success in a merciless manner: though constrained at first to respect the widowed queen and her children, and to confer on William the principality of Tarento, he soon blinded that unfortunate prince, consigned him, his sisters, and mother to everlasting captivity, and executed or exiled all who had shown any

* This princess has been made a nun of fifty or sixty years of age, and the pope made to grant a dispensation for her marriage with Henry of Swabia. She was, however, no nun, though she lived in a convent, and that she was much younger than is represented, may be inferred from her giving birth to a son. With their usual unscrupulous spirit, wherever the Germans are concerned, more recent native writers have contended that the offspring was supposititious. The truth, however, is, that Constanza, at the time of her marriage, was only thirty-one; and, lest the national malignity should deny her maternity, she was delivered in the presence of competent witnesses.

† In the same spirit this prince had been rendered the *legitimate* son of duke Roger. Contemporary writers, however, uniformly represent him as the son of Roger's mistress, whom that prince neither married nor ever intended to marry.

attachment to the royal family. Thus ended the male line of the Normans, and thus the sceptre passed into the house of Hohenstauffen.*

The short reign of Henry was doubtless signalised by much severity, by many acts of cruelty; but we must not forget that such representations come from his enemies, from a people who detested a foreign yoke, and who had too great cause of complaint against his ambition. On his death in 1197, the regency, during the minority of his infant son, devolved on the empress Constanza; but in twelve months she too paid the debt of nature, and the wardship of the infant Frederic was left to the holy see.† Innocent III. appears to have executed the trust with great fidelity; a cardinal vicar resided at Palermo; and the young prince was defended from all enemies foreign or domestic. In his fourteenth year, the pope procured for him the hand of Constanza, infanta of Aragon, and even afterwards exhibited greater zeal in his favour by espousing his pretensions to the imperial throne, to which, as the last heir of the Hohenstauffens, and the hope of the Ghibelins, he was called by a party in opposition to the Guelfs and Otho IV. But neither Innocent nor his successor Honorius III. was blind to the danger which menaced the holy see from the surrounding possessions of the emperor, and both exacted a promise that the crown of Naples and Sicily should be resigned to Henry, the infant son of Frederic. Such a promise Frederic had no intention of fulfilling. His evasion, coupled with his reluctance to depart on the crusade, the obligation to which he had assumed, and his opposition to the

1194 to 1266.

* Alexander Telesinus, Rogerii Regis Hist. lib. iii. et iv. Falco Beneventanus, Chronicon, p. 372—380. Hugo Falcandus, Historia de Rebus Gestis in Sicilia, p. 403—486. Anonymus, Chronicon Casinense, p. 509—518. Richardus de Sancto Germano, Chronicon Siculum, p. 545—552. Johannes de Ceccano, Chronicon Fossæ Novæ, p. 67—74. Romualdus Salernitanus, p. 865—904. Anonymus, Historia Sicula, passim. Summonte, Storia di Napoli, tom. ii. lib. ii. p. 1—79. Paternio Catinensis, Sicanii Reges, cum Castigationibus Abbatis Casinensis, p 17—51.

† The German as well as the Italian authorities of this period have been consulted by Raumer, Geschichte der Hohenstauffen und ihrer Zeit, bde. 1 und 2.

Guelf party, drew forth an excommunication from the pope. Though with the view of appeasing the angry pontiff he soon visited the Holy Land, as he still lay under the ban of the church, the crusaders refused to aid him: he made peace with the Egyptian sultan, and returned. The rest of his life was passed in contention with the popes; his own son Henry, whom he had caused to be elected king of the Romans, was incited to rebel against him, and to aspire to the imperial crown; but, though the wretched youth was supported by the Guelfs of Germany and Italy, the righteous cause prevailed; the rebel was compelled to submit, and was confined for life in a Calabrian fortress. In 1245 he was declared deposed from the imperial dignity by Innocent IV., but that dignity he knew how to preserve until his death in 1250. By his last will the regency of Naples and Sicily was confided to his natural son, Manfred, as the lieutenant of Conrad IV., his second legitimate son, who succeeded to the imperial crown. But the pope, dreading the ascendancy of the house of Hohenstauffen, which he probably believed to be inconsistent with the security of his seat, now formed the bold resolution of annexing Naples to the holy see. He called on the great barons and prelates to take up arms against the sons of Frederic; and, until they should obey, he placed the kingdom under an interdict. In two years Conrad hastened to defend his Italian possessions; he found that several cities had rebelled, but that all, except Naples and Capua, had been reduced to obedience by the valiant Manfred. The abilities of this prince, whom Frederic is believed to have rendered legitimate, and the attachment borne to him by the people, roused the jealousy of Conrad, who deprived him of his principal fiefs, and of his command. But the prince no less assisted in the reduction of Capua and Naples, and after the premature death of Conrad in 1254, the regency of the kingdom and the wardship of Conradin, his infant nephew, and heir to the throne, were confided to him by the barons. His situation was one of extreme difficulty;

the people were inclined to a change; the church took part with the pope, and led the populace into disaffection; he was threatened, too, by those who should have assisted him; so that, in the want of money and troops, he preferred the part of submission. At the head of a considerable force, Innocent invaded the kingdom, received the keys of the fortresses, and exacted from most of the feudatories an oath of homage to the chair of St. Peter. From his steps at this time, he appears to have devised the death of Manfred, whose talents and reputation he dreaded, and who refused to appear before his tribunal. Manfred fled to the Saracens of Luceria, who had always shown themselves the devoted adherents of the Hohenstauffen family, and who, to their everlasting honour be it recorded, received their prince with enthusiasm, when the Christians universally forsook him. Secure amidst the strong works of Luceria, and furnished with an ample treasure which enabled him to collect troops, he could watch the progress of events. Some successes obtained over the neighbouring towns, the defeat of the papal general, the death of Innocent IV., and above all, the experience that a change of masters was not necessarily a change for the better, increased the number of his partisans both on the continent and in Sicily, who speedily armed in his cause. Apulia and Calabria were soon recovered, Naples and Capua voluntarily opened their gates; and in two years more the whole kingdom acknowledged Conradin. On the report that the young prince, then in Germany, was dead, Manfred, who in case of that event had been declared by his father's will king of Naples, did not hesitate to assume the crown. The report was soon discovered to be unfounded, but the new monarch refused to resign his dignity: he promised, however, that Conradin should be his heir, the recognition of whose title he even proposed to procure from the states of the kingdom. With the vigour of his character, he withstood the opposition of Alexander IV., and of the Guelfs; and was the acknowledged head of

the Ghibelin league; but on the accession of Urban IV. in 1261, his prosperity forsook him. The excesses of his Saracen followers strengthened the indignation of the pontiff, who cited him to appear at Rome to justify himself from serious charges, contempt for the holy see not the least insignificant, which were urged against him. Of course the citation was disregarded, and Manfred prepared for the approaching storm by conferring the hand of his daughter Constanza on the infante of Aragon. As Urban was unable to dethrone the prince by temporal arms, and as spiritual thunders, even in these ages, had generally been found ineffectual, he offered the crown of Naples and Sicily, except the city of Benevento, to Charles of Anjou, brother of St. Louis, on condition that the prince would conquer them from the present usurper, and hold them as a fief of the holy see, that he would pay an annnal tribute of 8000 ounces of gold, and furnish 300 knights to the papal army. A crusade was proclaimed against Manfred, as if he were an enemy of Christendom; the conclave, through the care of the popes, was composed chiefly of French cardinals, all favourable to Charles; and a formidable army of French, Tuscans, and Romans, met in the eternal city, under the eye of a leader who had acquired a high reputation in the Holy Land. With their characteristic cowardice the Neapolitans were more eager to flee than to resist; and Manfred, who saw how little dependence was to be placed on them, endeavoured to arrest the march of his enemy by negotiation. "Tell the sultan of Luceria," replied the firm Gaul, "that I will have nothing but fighting; the day is come when I must despatch him to hell, or he me to paradise!" The Saracens, indeed, who obeyed Manfred, were his bravest subjects; a body of German allies still further repaired the defection of the natives; and though his forces were scarcely half so numerous as those of his rival, on the banks of the Calora, near the walls of Benevento, he made a noble stand. Great as was the disproportion, alike in the number and quality

of the troops—for the finest chivalry in Europe fought under the banners of the count d'Anjou,—Manfred would probably have remained victor, had he not been abandoned in the heat of the action by his chief barons and most of his cavalry. Resolved not to survive the loss of empire, he plunged into the midst of the enemy and fell; and Charles was ungenerous enough to deny his corpse the rites of sepulture. This victory decided the fate of the kingdom; it ended the domination of the house of Suabia or Hohenstauffen, after an existence of about seventy-two years.*

Of the princes of that house,—all men of abilities and great vigour of character,—posterity must consider Frederic II. as the most celebrated. Though Roger I. must be regarded as the father of Neapolitan jurisprudence, it was so greatly improved by Frederic, who at least quadrupled the number, that he is generally hailed as, *par excellence*, the legislator of the kingdom. The code, as may readily be inferred from its framers, was feudal in its character, and pervaded by the Germanic spirit. It established an ascending series of judges, from the magistrate of a village to the president of the council of assessors, all paid by the crown, all forbidden to receive presents, to purchase land, or

1197 to 1250.

* Ricardus de S. Germano, Chronicon Siculum, p. 552—625. Anonymus, Chronicon Cassinense, p. 518, &c. Anonymus Foxensis, Gesta Innocentii III. P. M. p. 629—959. Frederici II. Imperatoris Epistolæ Octo, necnon Testamentum ejus, p. 660, &c. Anonymus, et Sabas Malaspina, Historia de Rebus Frederici Imperatoris, Conradi et Manfredi Regum ejus Filiorum, p. 677—779. Anonymus, Historia Sicula, p. 857—859. Varii Scriptores, Monumentorum Siculorum amplissima Collectio, passim. Anonymus, Chronicon Fossæ Novæ, p. 74, usque ad finem. Matthæus Spinelli, Ephemerides Neapolitanæ, p. 1055, &c. Nicolas de Jenasilla, Historia de Rebus Gestis Frederici II. et Filiorum, cum Supplemento, p. 489, &c. Giovanni Villani, Istorie Fiorentine, passim. Bartholomæus de Neocastro, Historia Sicula à Morte Frederici II., &c. p. 1005, &c. Antonio Summonte, Historia di Napoli, tom. ii. p. 83—190. Paternio Catinensis, Sicani Reges, p 49—82.

We do not think it worth while to notice, much less to refute, the monstrous calumnies of the Italian Guelfs against the two Frederics and Manfred. That the last murdered both his father and his brother is generally affirmed by that unscrupulous party. Our only surprise is, that modern historians should be found to detail them, without expressing a doubt of their truth. But the Guelf spirit was never more rife in Italy than in our days: Sismondi even has enough of it; but Sismondi is too well versed in the history of his country to admit an unsustained charge, and too honest to perpetuate one.

even to marry within their respective jurisdictions. They were doubtless intended to operate as a check on the baronial tribunals, from which, in cases of moment, appeals always lay to the royal judges, or even to the king himself. The government of provincial assemblies, comprising nobles, prelates, and burghers, in certain districts; the convocation of a third estate, as observed in the reign of Roger, to the provincial and national parliaments, was a privilege which Frederic was disposed to improve and to extend so far as was consistent with the subjection of the burghers. When the right of appeal, when the syndicat, a new tribunal to take cognizance of official misjudgment, was thus sanctioned, great abuses could not well exist in the administration of justice. The laws were generally severe, sometimes capricious. Thus the adulteress lost her nose, the adulterer his substance; and the same member no longer adorned the face of the mother who prostituted her daughter. Whoever blasphemed God or St. Mary lost his tongue; and perjury was visited with the loss of the hand. Homicide and rape were properly visited with the last penalty; and whoever did not hasten to the assistance of a woman in danger of violation was heavily fined. What the nobles felt to be most galling was, that they could not contract marriages among each other without the royal permission; and that marriages between natives and foreigners were forbidden without a sort of dispensation from the crown: the penalty of disobedience was confiscation of substance. The privileges of the clergy were wisely curtailed: lands could no longer be bequeathed to them without being subject to the burdens of the state; for, if the ecclesiastic could not serve in person, he was bound to furnish a substitute. The same exemption was artfully granted to nobles, so that a new description of troops, independent of any feudal superior, and consequently at the pleasure of the crown, was insensibly raised. This measure inevitably weakened the power of the aristocracy, just as the former circumscribed the exemptions

of the church. Private wars were prohibited; and challenges were not admitted as judicial proof, except in cases of murder or treason, where the presumption was strong and the evidence defective; and, in the same cases only, was torture allowed. The value of evidence was whimsically determined by the rank of the witness; the oath of one count being made equivalent to that of two barons, of four knights, and of eight burgesses. Ordeals were abolished. To preserve the purity of the atmosphere, no noxious smells were permitted to be raised in the immediate vicinity of the towns; and a great depth was fixed for the graves of the dead. Physicians were not allowed to practise until they had passed a considerable time in the study, not only of surgery, but of logic and of natural philosophy; they were compelled to a gratuitous attendance on the poor; their visits and fees were minutely regulated. But Frederic was not merely a legislator: he was an enlightened statesman, a man of letters, and a great encourager of learning in others. Commerce he relieved, often to the serious diminution of the royal treasury, by removing oppressive restrictions; he wished his subjects to be not merely comfortable but wealthy. He collected books from all parts of Christendom; many he caused to be translated, and presented copies as well to foreign universities as to learned individuals; he founded the university at Naples; and was the consistent patron of the fine, no less than of the useful, arts. To him Naples and Sicily are indebted for not a few of their most magnificent structures. Yet with all his great qualities, he was undoubtedly a man not only of inflexible severity, but sometimes of sternness.*

If the sway of the Germans had been felt to be rigorous, it had yet been accompanied by signal benefits: that of the French was one of immitigable ferocity, of cool-blooded cruelty, without a single redeeming 1266 to 1268.

* To most of the Neapolitan authorities before cited, add Constitutiones Neapolitanæ sive Siculæ, lib. i. et ii. passim, et lib. iii. tit. 13. 19. 21. 35. 43. 48. 58, 59, &c.; and Raumer, Geschichte der Hohenstauffen, bd. iv. passim.

trait. To these qualities were added a rapacity which laughed at justice, perfidy which despised the most solemn engagements, a contempt which regarded the natives as below the dignity of thought or feeling, a lust which spared neither high nor low, neither nun nor lay-woman, neither the married nor the maiden. In short, the new king is allowed, by the most ardent Guelfs themselves, to have spread utter desolation over this fine kingdom. Hence both he and his countrymen were soon regarded with detestation; and the people bitterly condemned their own fickleness in banishing their natural princes for the most ruthless of foreign tyrants.* There is, in fact, no other example in Christian history of a despotism so savage and bloody. In vain did Clement IV. expostulate with his new feudatory: the royal brute was deaf to the voice of remonstrance as he had already been to that of pity. No wonder that the eyes of the people, no less than the hopes of the Ghibelins, should rest on the young Conradin, son of Conrad, and nephew of Manfred, the true heir to the throne, whom his mother had educated at the court of Bavaria, and who now entered into his sixteenth year. The young prince inherited the spirit of his father: he longed to recover his undoubted rights; and the desire was strengthened by hope when he heard of the detestation in which the foreigner was held, still more when he received the most flattering offers of assistance from the Italian Ghibelins, especially from the Pisans. He proclaimed his intention of drawing the sword; the chivalry of Germany, headed by Frederic, duke of Austria, hastened to join him; and he penetrated into Lombardy. As he advanced, the Ghibelins sent him small bodies of troops, and the chief Neapolitan towns revolted: it was, indeed, evident that if he effected a junction with the disaffected, the reign of Charles was

* "O Rex Manfrede," exclaimed the sufferers, "temet non cognovimus, quem nunc et ter etiam deploramus! Te lupum credebamus rapacem inter oves pascuæ hujus regni — agnum manusuetum te fuisse cognovimus." — *Anonymus et Sabas Malaspina*, p. 780. Yet this anonymous writer was a Guelf, an adherent of Charles.

at an end. With new succours from the Florentines, he reached the plain of Tagliacozzo, where he was met by his French rival. As the army of Conradin was more numerous, and animated by the best spirit, the result of the battle could not have been doubtful, had not Charles resorted to a cruel stratagem. Two divisions of his troops, under a captain invested with the ensigns of royalty, he despatched to oppose the invader, in other words to be butchered; while with a third he lay in ambush, ready to surprise his enemy in the flush of victory. The result justified the design: the two bodies of Frenchmen were cut to pieces; when the soldiers of Conradin, considering that the king was slain, and the contest ended, dispersed to pillage. At this moment Charles rushed on them with eight hundred chosen men. Resistance was hopeless; and, after a short struggle, Conradin, with his noble allies, consulted their safety by flight. He was pursued, betrayed by two men whose loyalty he had invoked, and delivered into the hands of his enemy. By no law, either of nations or of equity, had Charles any authority over the prince, other than that of a victor over his captive; but he resolved to shed the blood of so dangerous a rival. He instituted an extraordinary tribunal, chiefly of Guelfs, and himself performed the functions of accuser. But even this tribunal was loth to condemn the last scion of an imperial house: one judge nobly vindicated his cause; the rest were silent, except one, a Provençal, and subject of Charles, who pronounced sentence of death. This was, however, enough for the victor; a scaffold was erected in the market place of Naples; the prisoner and his noble companions in arms, who were doomed to the same fate, were brought out. But, even here, Charles, who overlooked the execution, had cause of humiliation. As his base Provençal judge read the sentence, Robert of Flanders, son-in-law of the victor, struck a mortal blow at the reader: "Vile wretch, thou hast no right to condemn so noble a man!" nor durst Charles avenge

the insult. The victim drew off his mantle, and after a few moments passed in prayer, and a natural expression of the sorrow which his fate would cause his mother, he cast his glove among the assembled spectators, most of them bathed in tears, with a wish that it might be taken to some one who would avenge him: one account says that he expressly named the king of Aragon, husband of Constanza, the daughter of Manfred. As his youthful head fell, the noble Frederic wept; the archduke's followed; and the blood of four other chiefs stained the same scaffold. In Sicily, as on the continent, the barons who had shown any attachment to the cause of Conradin were mercilessly executed by order of Charles; while his ministers visited with death and confiscation them of inferior degree.*

1268 to 1303. Like his predecessors, Charles of Anjou constantly interfered with Italian politics, but, unlike them, he lent all his influence to the Guelfs, whom he had taken under his protection. At this time he was virtually the lord of Italy, for the Ghibelins were too feeble to oppose him, and the republic of Venice was too much occupied with its commercial pursuits to dream, if even it had the power, to thwart his projects. His influence gave umbrage to his feudal superior, the pope, who justly dreaded his growing ambition. For a time he was taught moderation by the commanding talents of Nicolas III., and by the measures of the emperor Rodolph, who was sufficiently disposed to take offence at the evident tendency of his feeling; but, on the death of Nicolas, he was resolved that no pope hostile to his views should fill the chair of St. Peter, and he procured, rather by his threats than his intrigue, the election of

* Matthæus Spinellus, Ephemeridæ Neapolitanæ (ad finem). Anonymus et Sabas Malaspina, Historia Sicula, p. 779—800. Anonymus, Historia Sicula, p. 859. Conradini Epistola ad Clementem IV. p. 824. Bartholomæus de Neocastro, Historia Sicula, cap. 9. & 10. Ricobaldus Ferrariensis, Chronicon Romanorum Imperatorum, p. 136, 137. Giovanni Villani, Istorie Fiorentine, cap. 9—29. p. 233—253. Anonymus, Supplementum ad Nicolaum di Jamsilla, ubi suprà. Summonte, Historia di Napoli, tom. ii. p. 201—259. Paternio Catinensis, Sicani Reges, cum Castigationibus Abbatis Catinensis, p. 82—85. Raumer, Geschichte der Hohenstauffen, bd. iv. See also History of Spain and Portugal (Cab. Cyc.), vol. iii. p. 109.

Martin IV., a Frenchman, and his blind instrument. He now resumed his project of exciting one Italian power against another, with the view of profiting by the consequent weakness of both: but his ambition was checked by an unexpected insurrection of his Sicilian subjects. Neither that insurrection, nor the massacre which followed, generally known as the Sicilian Vespers, was premeditated: the lustful insolence of a Frenchman, who, in a religious procession at Easter, rudely handled a young lady, under the pretence of ascertaining whether she carried concealed arms, the use of which had been forbidden, acting like a spark of gunpowder on the inflammable spirit of the populace, caused a sudden explosion of rage, that proved fatal to all the odious strangers at Palermo.* That the massacre was not preconcerted, is abundantly proved by the positive testimony of contemporary native writers, and by the fact that, during nearly a month, the rest of the island showed considerable reluctance to follow the example of the capital. Messina, which was filled with French soldiers, was the last to join the popular cause; but when it was known that Pedro of Aragon, the son-in-law of Manfred, was seriously advancing to the aid of the islanders, the garrison were assailed by the populace, and besieged in the fortress. With no less spirit did they resist Charles himself, who passed the straits, rather to annihilate than to punish them. Pedro now hastened his movements; he landed, was enthusiastically welcomed; he assumed the crown, and on his arrival at Messina had the satisfaction to expel the French, who never afterwards regained possession of the island. In the wars which followed the advantage was on the side of the Aragonese, who made the prince of Salerno, son of Charles, prisoner. The death of Charles in 1285, and that of Pedro in the same year, made no difference in the character of the war. Charles de Valois, who, through the mediation of the English Edward I., escaped from cap-

* For a fuller account of these transactions, see History of Spain and Portugal (Cab. Cyc.), vol. iii. p. 111.

tivity, was declared by the pope heir to the Two Sicilies; while don Jayme, the second son of Pedro, succeeded by his father's will to the throne of Sicily, and, on his brother's death (Alfonso III.), to that of Aragon. To preserve his continental dominions in quiet, Jayme had the baseness to make peace with Charles de Valois and the pope, and to desert the Sicilians, nay, to promise that he would bear arms against them, if they did not voluntarily submit to the king of Naples. In this emergency the brave islanders did not despair: they chose for their king the infante don Frederic, a brother of Jayme, who resisted all the force of his enemy, and finally compelled both the pope and Charles to acknowledge him king of Trinacria, on the condition, however, that at his death the kingdom should revert to the house of Aragon.*

1283 to 1416. I. KINGS OF SICILY.—The history of Sicily under the princes of Aragon, offers little to strike the attention, in addition to what has been already related in the history of Aragon.† Pedro reigned only two years (1283—1285). His second son, to whom he left Sicily, and Jayme, who in 1291 succeeded to the throne of Aragon, and who so basely betrayed the Sicilians, was succeeded by Frederic (1295—1337). This prince rendered himself dear to the Sicilians, not only by compelling the king of Naples to acknowledge their independence, but by his spirit of moderation and of justice. "Fuit, hercle, rex ille," says a judicious native writer, "inter omnes quos habuimus principes facile primus, eosque omnes exsuperavit qui deinde secuti sunt." This praise, high as it

* Nicolas Specialis, Rerum Sicularum, lib. i. ii. iii. iv. v. vi. Chronicon Barcionense, necnon Chronicon Vlianense, col. 756, &c. Monachus Rivipullensis, Gesta Comitum Barcionensium, cap. 26—29. Sabas Malaspina, Historia Sicula, lib. iv. v. vi. p. 800—818 Bartholomæus de Neocastro, Historia Sicula, cap. ii.—cxii. p. 1025—1153. Giovanni Villani, Historia, lib. vii. & viii. Anonymus, Breviarium Italiæ Historiæ, passim. Ferretus Vicentinus, Historia Rerum in Italia Gestarum, p. 935, &c. Anonymus, Diaria Neapolitana, p. 1027, &c., necnon Ludovicus de Raimo, Annales de Raimo, p. 221, &c. Summonte, Historia, tom. ii. lib. 3. Paternio Catinensis, Sicani Reges, p. 87—105.

For the events of this period we must again refer the reader to the History of Spain and Portugal, vol. iii. ch. 4.

† See History of Spain and Portugal (CAB. CYC.), vol. iii. ch. 4.

is, does not appear to exceed the mere truth. Pedro II. (1337—1342) wielded the sceptre in peace, but his son Louis (1342—1355), who died in his eighteenth year, beheld the nation a prey to factions, which he had neither the vigour nor the inclination to repress. Frederic III., brother of Louis (1355—1377), left no male issue; but as he had married Constanza, a princess of Aragon, and as there was a law, though of no great antiquity, which excluded females, the crown was claimed by Pedro of Aragon, and by the pope, under the pretext that the fief had devolved to the holy see. Both claims were rejected by the Sicilians, who raised Maria, daughter of their late king, to the throne. But, if Pedro of Aragon was disappointed in this expectation, his fertile genius discovered another expedient, by which the connection between his royal house and that of Sicily was perpetuated. With a boldness of which there is, perhaps, no parallel in history, he caused the princess to be seized, brought to Aragon, and married to one of his nephews, the infante don Martin. Though Maria died in 1402, without issue, Martin claimed, and the Sicilians readily granted him, the crown; nor did they disapprove of his subsequent marriage with the princess Blanche of Navarre. But this union, also, was barren; yet, on his death in 1409, his father, Martin, king of Aragon, seized the crown, and confirmed Blanche in the regency. One party, however, and that a numerous one, refused to obey her, so that during Martin's life the island was torn by two great factions. It is certain that Martin could not claim in right of his queen, Maria; still less could his father, Martin II., in his right: both, however, had a legitimate title in the approbation of the Sicilians. With equal readiness did they obey Fernando I. (1412—1416), whose son, Alfonso V., as we shall soon see, united the crown with that of Naples.*

* Authorities, besides most of the Italian frequently quoted: — Lucius Marineus Siculus, de Rebus Hispaniæ, lib. xi. Zurita, Anales de Aragon, tom. i. lib. 4, &c. tom. ii. lib. 1—12. Blancas, Rerum Aragonensium Commentarii, passim; with the other historians of Spain. But see the corresponding period in the history of Aragon, CAB. CYC.

1285 to 1443. II. KINGS OF NAPLES. — The reign of Charles II., who, for the perpetuation of peace, had married his daughter to his rival, Frederic of Sicily, closed in 1309. This prince, by marrying a sister of Ladislas, king of Hungary, laid the foundation of a closer connexion between the royal houses of the two countries, and that connexion was rendered still closer by the marriage of his eldest son with a princess of Hungary. That son preceded him to the tomb; but the issue of the latter marriage, Charles Hubert, or Caribert, who succeeded to the throne of Hungary, was also heir to that of Naples. The king of Naples, however, had a second son, Robert, who, in the absence of his nephew, seized the crown, and procured the approbation of the pope, Clement V. The pontiff was unwilling that both crowns should adorn the same brow; he declared that uncle and nephew must be satisfied with their respective kingdoms. By favour of the popes, and still more through the Guelfs, of whom he was the acknowledged head, he maintained his seat with great vigour, and that too in opposition to the emperors and the king of Sicily. As his eldest son, the duke of Calabria, preceded him to the tomb, the succession, on his death in 1343, devolved on that son's daughter, the princess Joanna (Giovanna), who had been married to her cousin, Andrew of Hungary, brother of Louis the reigning sovereign. It is, indeed, true, that Andrew himself, as the son of Charles Robert, the grandson of Charles Martel, and great-grandson of Charles II., had equal claims to the crown; nor could he behold, without mortification, the coronation of Joanna alone. In this baneful sentiment he was encouraged by his Hungarian attendants, especially by his confessor. Other circumstances added to the disagreeableness of his situation: he was rude and unpolished; the Neapolitans, on the contrary, were the most polite people in Europe; nor could he conceal from himself that he was the ridicule of the court. He had other motives of discontent: his queen was suspected of an intrigue with Louis of Tarento, a

prince of the royal family; and to him, personally, she evidently bore an aversion. That he threatened one day to be revenged, is certain; that his threats inspired several, not even excepting Joanna, with fear, is equally undoubted: a plot was formed for his destruction, — whether with *her* privity, has been disputed by one or two modern writers; but, from her conduct before and after the tragical event, there is circumstantial evidence enough to implicate her in the guilt. One night (Sept. 18. 1345), the court having removed to a solitary place in the vicinity of Aversa, Andrew was called by the conspirators from the queen's bed, under pretence of urgent business of state, and murdered in the corridor. That she was aware of the plot may be inferred; first, from her momentary reluctance to allow him to depart; secondly, from her endeavours to screen the assassins from the pursuit of justice; thirdly, from her marriage with Louis of Tarento; and fourthly, from the extreme care taken by the functionaries whom the pope ordered to enquire into the murder, to prevent the confessions of the tortured from being heard, — in other words, the implication of the queen. Some of the conspirators were executed; but, as the queen herself and her paramour escaped, this show of justice did not satisfy Louis, king of Hungary, who invaded Naples, expelled Joanna, punished some of the suspected nobles, and received the submission of the kingdom. Thence, however, he was soon driven by the fearful plague which devastated all Europe in its course, and which appears to have been more severely felt in Italy than any where else. The sway of the Hungarians was already disagreeable to the fickle Neapolitans; Joanna was recalled, and a desultory war followed: Louis returned to the scene; but as his troops, after fulfilling their usual feudal service, murmured to return, he was compelled to enter into a truce with Joanna, on the condition that her guilt or innocence should be left to the decision of the pope at Avignon; that if she were declared guilty, she would resign the crown; but that, if

she were absolved, she should be allowed to retain it on paying a heavy sum as an indemnification for the expense of the war. The decision of one so devoted as Clement VII.* to the interests of France, could not be doubted. Her complicity in the plot was not denied; but it was gravely contended that witchcraft had been employed to seduce her; in the end she was absolved, and the indemnity to king Louis approved. Her subsequent reign continued to be one of guilt and disgrace. The great barons were too proud to obey her husband, whose imbecility she herself despised, and whose bed she dishonoured; the grand company of mercenaries ravaged the kingdom to the very gates of the capital; as both he and the people were too cowardly to oppose them, their retreat was purchased by money. After his death, she married a third husband, a prince of the house of Aragon; and, on his death, a fourth, Otho of Brunswick; but, as she had issue by none of the four, the heir to the crown was Charles, duke of Durazzo, the last male of the Neapolitan branch of Anjou, who was also heir to the throne of Hungary. At the court of the latter country, Charles had imbibed a feeling of hatred against the queen, whom he resolved to dethrone, —a resolution to which he was impelled by Urban VI., who could never pardon her devotion to the antipope Clement. Her attempt to exclude him from the succession, by the adoption of the count d'Anjou, and the step of pope Urban, who, in 1380, declared her deposed from the Neapolitan throne, and preached a crusade against her, sealed her fate. The prince advanced to Rome, received the crown from the pope, marched on Naples, which, like the rest of that cowardly kingdom, submitted to him, as it had done to every other invader from the downfall of the western empire. Otho, indeed, made a show of resistance; but his men abandoned him the moment the engagement commenced; and he fell, like Joanna, into the hands of the victor. Her death was sudden and violent; probably it was

* See the next chapter. — Origin of the schism.

caused by suffocation with a feather bolster. He had little reason to rejoice in this barbarity. He had soon to sustain an invasion of Naples, by Louis of Anjou, who, as usual, was joined by a considerable number of adherents; and, though death rid him of a formidable rival, he had to support a quarrel with an arrogant pope, who excommunicated him and his army. During these transactions, Louis of Hungary died, and the nobles, preferring the rights of his daughter Maria to those of a distant relation, proclaimed her their sovereign. But Charles had partizans, who invited him to resume the crown; he hastened to Buda, forced the queen to abdicate, and was proclaimed in her stead; but, in the height of his success, he was assassinated by the creatures of the queen and her mother. This tragical event left Naples under the regency of his widow, Margarita, during the minority of his son Ladislas, then only ten years of age; and her government was perpetually exposed to the intrigues of the French faction, which espoused the interests of a son, equally young, of Louis d'Anjou, who was named after his father. As Ladislas increased in years, he exhibited considerable bravery, and still greater dissimulation; qualities which, in such a country, were almost indispensable, and of which the latter was even in greater esteem than the former. He forced his rival, Louis of Anjou, to evacuate his kingdom; and he was near obtaining the crown of Hungary. That he had cast a longing eye on the states of the church, is evident from the art with which he fomented the dissatisfaction of the Romans; and from the eagerness with which he availed himself of the smallest opening to his ambition. In 1405, Innocent VII. was constrained to flee from Rome, into which the king endeavoured to enter; but the Neapolitans were odious, and were repelled. Two years afterwards, however, he took Ostia, Perusa, and the eternal city; a success for which he was indebted to the jealousy of the two rival popes, Benedict VIII. and Gregory XII. In a few years more, the greater part

of the ecclesiastical territories lay at his mercy. How far he might have proceeded — for he appears to have been as insensible of religion as he was of moral restraints — can scarcely be conjectured; but death, the result of his debaucheries, surprised him in 1414. As he died without issue, he was succeeded by his sister Joanna II., a princess of the most depraved manners, of feeble understanding, perfidious, fickle, and cruel. As she too had no offspring, she announced her intention of bequeathing the kingdom by will, sometimes to the king of Aragon*, sometimes to a prince of France. The house of Anjou had on its side the influence of the popes, as well as ancient pretensions; the house of Aragon, the valour of its prince, its descent from the royal race of Naples, and its long connection with Sicily. From 1411, the period when that island became almost inseparably joined with the Spanish kingdom, its princes began to cast a more wishful look on the fair territory of Naples. The offer of Joanna to constitute as her heir Alfonso V., who, in 1416, ascended the throne of Aragon and Sicily, was eagerly grasped by that monarch: the condition was, the defence of Naples against the menaced invasion of Louis d'Anjou. That invasion was repelled; but, with her characteristic feebleness, the queen, when all danger was past, revoked the adoption, which she afterwards confirmed to revoke again. It was evident, that whenever Joanna paid the debt of nature, the disputes between the two princes could be settled only by arms. Both were anxious to settle it, even during her life; and she had the mortification to behold a portion of her kingdom occupied by one or both of the hostile parties. But, in general, success declared for Alfonso, who more than once expelled the partizans of the French, and forced the queen to confirm her testament in his favour. In 1434, the death of his competitor Louis seemed to secure his triumph; but shortly afterwards Joanna, whose last disposition was in favour of a French prince,

* See History of Spain and Portugal (Cab. Cyc.), vol. iii. p. 159, &c.

called in René d'Anjou, brother of Louis, to be her successor. She did not long survive this testament: she died early in 1435, leaving her kingdom a prey to internal faction, and to two foreign enemies rather than friends. Naples immediately declared for René; but the capital was not the kingdom, several of the great barons adhered to Alfonso, whose resources were more easily drawn from Sicily than his rival's from Provence. Though, in the war which followed, the latter had at first the duke of Milan for an enemy, whose prisoner he became, he had address enough not only to procure his liberation, but to convert a foe into an ally.* The whole kingdom, except the capital, was soon his; that he vigorously invested, and, in 1442, it was taken by storm. The following year Eugenius IV., who had need of his aid for the recovery of Ancona, acknowledged him as king of the Two Sicilies, and his illegitimate son Ferdinand as his heir in the throne of Naples.†

From this period the history of Naples and Sicily is that of all Europe. By way of summary we may observe, that Sicily did not follow the fortunes of Naples, but continued annexed to the crown of Aragon until both were merged in that of Spain; that the two succeeding kings of Naples, Ferdinand and Alfonso, were so unpopular that the people invoked a deliverance from the arms of the French; that the kingdom was conquered, as usual, almost without a blow, by Charles VIII.; that the French were expelled by the troops of Fernando the Catholic, king of Spain, who placed

1453 to 1510.

* History of Spain and Portugal (Cab. Cyc.), vol. iii. p. 163.

† Authorities:—Giovanni and Matteo Villani, Historia; Ferretus Vicentinus, Rerum in Italia Gest.; Anonymus, Chronicon Siciliæ; Nicolas Specialis, Historia Sicula; Stella, Annales Genuenses; Leonardo Aretino, Rerum suo tempore Gest. Comment.; Pietro Candido, Vita Francisci Sfortiæ; Giovanni Simoneta, Vita ejusdem; Anonymus, Diaria Neapolitana; Ludovicus de Raimo, Annales; Summonte, Historia di Napoli; Lucius Marineus Siculus, de Rebus Hispaniæ; Zurita, Anales de Aragon; Blancas, Rerum Aragonensium Commentarii; Paternio Catinensis, Sicani Reges; — all in chapters and pages too numerous to be cited. See also Hist. of Spain (Cab. Cyc.), vol. iii. chap. 4.; where, as we do not wish to repeat ourselves, much information will be found which we here omit.

Frederic, uncle of Alfonso, on the throne; that this phantom of royalty was soon deposed, the kings of France and Spain having agreed to divide Naples between them; that the royal robbers soon disputed about their respective possessions, when the French were again expelled; that Fernando retained possession of the whole, the investiture of which, in 1510, he obtained from the pope, nearly on the same conditions as had been anciently granted to the Normans and the princes of Anjou. From this period Naples and Sicily were mere provinces of Spain, governed by viceroys, whose rapacity has been exposed by Italian writers. In the celebrated war of the succession, Naples was invaded by the imperial troops, and, at the peace of 1713, it was ceded to that power, while Sicily, with the regal title, passed to the crown of Savoy. In a few years, however, Carlos, a son of Philip V., seized the throne of the Two Sicilies, and in 1735 procured the confirmation of his title from the reigning emperor. In 1759, Don Carlos succeeded to the throne of Spain; and, as by the treaty of Vienna the crown of Spain and the Two Sicilies could not be worn by the same brow, he resigned the latter to his son Fernando, by whose grandson it is now held.*

* Authorities: — the historians of Italy and Spain, and the general histories of Europe. See above all, History of Spain and Portugal, book v. reigns of the Austrian and Bourbon princes.

CHAP. II.

RELIGIOUS AND INTELLECTUAL HISTORY OF ITALY.*

THE POPES, OR THE RISE, PROGRESS, AND DECLINE OF THE TEMPORAL AUTHORITY OF THE CHURCH. — THE CHURCH, ITS CONDITION, ORDERS, SAINTS, AND DOCTORS. — ST. BENEDICT. — ST. GREGORY THE GREAT. — ST. NILUS. — ST. DOMINIC THE MAILED. — ST. ROMUALD. — ST. FRANCIS. — ST. CLAIR. — SANTA CATHERINE DE SIENA, AND OTHERS. — INTELLECTUAL STATE OF ITALY UNDER THE OSTROGOTHS, — UNDER THE LOMBARDS, — UNDER THE EMPERORS, — UNDER THE REPUBLICS. — LITERARY NAMES.

I. THE POPES. — We have before related that Rome was not subdued by the Lombards. Why Alboin and his immediate successors spared a city which still depended on the emperor of Constantinople, and which could not easily receive supplies from that power, has never been explained. Whatever might have been the cause, the fact is certain, that, though it was sometimes blockaded, and the neighbouring territory devastated by them, a full century elapsed before the Lombard princes seriously and in earnest turned their arms against it, and that, when they did so, the season in which success was to be hoped was past. Obedience to the emperor was inculcated by the popes, who still continued to be elected by the clergy, senate, and people, and who could not be consecrated until the election were approved by that distant potentate.† At this 580 to 936.

* As the former chapter was expanded beyond its proportionate limits, for the purpose of exhibiting the connected policy of the German emperors towards Italy, so is the present for that of tracing the condition of the church universal. The same matter must have been given in some part of the work; we prefer its condensation in the present book; both because we are thereby enabled to treat the subject with more attention to unity, and because the two chapters will serve for continued reference in future portions of this history.

† There is only one exception to this, in the case of Pelagius II. who was consecrated "absque jussione principis, *eo quod Longobardi obsiderent Romanam civitatem*, et multa vastatio ab eis in Italia fieret." (*Anastasius, in Vitâ Pelagii II.*) All communication with Greece was consequently cut off.

period, indeed, the successors of St. Peter were distinguished for virtues worthy of their station: they had hitherto formed no designs of a temporal sovereignty; and their animosity towards the Arian Lombards always made them eager to defend the eternal city against those ferocious heretics. But after Leo the Bavarian ascended the throne of the eastern empire, and hurled his penal edicts at the heads of the idolatrous image worshippers, papal ambition began to rise. A heretic was not to be obeyed; duke Marino, the imperial governor of Rome, was deposed; something resembling a republic, under the protection of Gregory II., was formed; and the walls were fortified. As the Lombard kings, however, extended their conquests, the menacing danger forced the new government to show a nominal submission to the empire, in return for the aid they required; and, when that aid was no longer effectual, Gregory III. applied to Charles Martel for defence against Lieutprand. The example was followed by succeeding popes. For some time the mere threats of France appear to have deterred the successors of Alboin from hostilities against Rome itself; and, when threats no longer availed, a French army, as we have before seen, penetrated into Italy, and put an end to the kingdom of the Lombards. The Carlovingian princes enriched the holy see by granting to it the *utile dominium* of a part of the Pentapolis and the Exarchate, — countries which the popes aimed at possessing as vicars of their protectors. But, though Charlemagne and Louis-le-Debonnaire recognised the cession which Pepin had made of those important provinces, they took no measures to carry it into effect. Still by this *utile dominium* the popes were become powerful temporal barons, the feudatories of the new western empire. From this period, donations to the church, by the dying who hoped to obtain an entrance into heaven, by criminals who looked to the divine forgiveness, were frequent. But, though the bishops of Rome, who were even at this period acknowledged as

heads of the church universal*, were thus rendered rich and powerful; though they were thus independent of of Greece; they were not consecrated without the approbation of the western emperors. This approbation was expressly recognised by the pope in 774, in a treaty with the son of Pepin. We may add, that the numerous epistles of the popes to the Carlovingian princes breathe submission to these sovereigns. Leo IV., indeed, was consecrated without the sanction of Louis, the son of Charlemagne; but then the Saracens were investing the city, and, in such a situation, it could neither dispense with a head nor wait for the usual imperial permission. It is worthy of particular remark, that the two exceptions which we have mentioned, Pelagius II. and Leo IV.†, were steadily kept in view by the successors of the latter, who could truly assert that the imperial sanction was not *necessary*, and who soon discovered that it was *unholy*, — a shameful subjection of things spiritual to things temporal, a degradation of Christ in the person of his vicar. The troubles attending the quarrels of the Carlovingian princes, and the consequent indifference with which, for a time, the affairs of Italy were regarded, enabled the Romans to evade the imperial sanction; but when the imperial power was again restored to its unity, they again submitted until the popes were become the rivals of the emperors themselves. Another strange precedent is no less worthy of notice. Under the idea that coronation by the hands of the bishop of Rome, the primate of the church universal, was more effectual, as it was certainly more imposing, than by any inferior prelate, Charlemagne, even before the death of his father, was crowned by Stephen III. The example was followed by his sons, who, in 781, were

* This fact cannot be controverted. It has been acknowledged from the time of Irenæus and Cyprian, whose works contain abundant evidence of the spiritual supremacy of the popes.

† We would not insinuate that these were the *only* exceptions during the decline of the Eastern empire and the ravages of the northern people, several such *might*, and probably *did* occur, but these above are specified. The early history of the popes is wrapt in much obscurity.

crowned kings of Aquitaine and Italy by Adrian I.; and in 800, he himself received, at Rome, a second crown from the hands of the pope,—that of the empire. In 816, Louis-le-Debonnaire was similarly crowned at Rheims by Stephen V.; and Charles the Bold in 876, by John VIII. The example was not confined to the Carlovingian princes: Otho I. left it for imitation to the house of Saxony. It is, indeed, true that the German monarchs were previously crowned by the archbishops of Mayence; but this was as kings of Germany merely, not as emperors. How dangerous a thing precedent may become was soon proved by these sovereigns. The popes arrogated the necessity of crowning the emperors before they could be styled as such; and they laboured to prove that the right of conferring the empire itself was involved in the same prerogative; that Germany was virtually a fief of the holy see. Thus the history of Europe, during the middle ages, presents us with the quarrels of two potentates, whose pretences were too monstrous and too opposite ever to harmonise: the emperors insisting that no papal election could be valid without their sanction as lords paramount over Italy; the popes, that so far from being vassals, they were, in fact, the superiors of the empire.*

900 to 1047. But the influence which the Roman pontiffs gained by the favour of princes, they lost *for a time* by their own vices. Human prosperity was as little favourable to their character, as to that of the great body of mankind. No sooner did the papacy hold out attractions to ambition, than the worthless became candidates for it, often with success. Rome with its consuls and magistrates, now popular, now aristocratic, had its factions as well as other cities, and these contended for their

* Anastasius Bibliothecarius, de Vitis Romanorum Pontificum, p. 133. to the end. Liutprandus Ticinensis, Historia ejusque Legatio ad Nicephorum Phocam, p. 417, &c. Vitæ Romanorum Pontificum, Auctoribus Amalrico Augerio, Frodoardo, &c. p. 8—320. Baronius, Annales Ecclesiastici (sub propriis annis). Fleury, Histoire Ecclésiastique, tom. ix. et x. Pfeffel, Histoire d'Allemagne, tom. i. Sismondi, Hist. des Rép. tom. i. ch. 3.

public offices, and a still higher degree for the chair of St. Peter. As each of the factions succeeded, the acts of a hostile predecessor were abrogated, until intrigue and passion and violence were the only visible movers of the spiritual machine. It may readily be inferred, that in such elections neither intellect nor moral worth was much regarded: youths almost beardless, and open debauchees, were sometimes chosen. Two famous patrician ladies, mother and daughter, of morals the most infamous, raised, during half a century, their lovers or immediate connections to that dignity. The former, Theodora, procured the tiara for her lover, John X., whom she had placed in the metropolitan see of Ravenna; the latter, Marozia, at the head of the opposite faction, caused him to be imprisoned, and successively conferred the papacy on two of her creatures. Though married, first to Alberic, marquis of Camerino, next to Guido, duke of Tuscany, she had never forsaken her criminal connections. She had been the mistress of Sergius III. *, and the son, whom she next raised to the popedom, John XI., was reasonably believed to be the offspring of that connection.† Another of her sons, Alberic, expelled both her and her third husband, Hugh of Provence, and succeeded to her influence. During twenty-two years he filled the papal chair with dependent creatures. Octavian, the son and successor of Alberic, the acknowledged head of the Roman republic, took holy orders, and placed the spiritual crown on his own head as John XII. This pontiff, however, resigned his temporal authority into the hands of a prefect, two consuls, and twelve tribunes. By Otho I., whom he had invited into Italy, but whose enemy he soon declared himself, he was deposed in a council held at Rome; but that deposition was manifestly illegal, as effected by the influence of the emperor. The same il-

* "Sergius est le premier pape que je trouve chargé d'un tel reproche." —*Fleury*, xi. 571.

† This is admitted by Baronius, Pagi, and Fleury, doubted only by Muratori.

legality must brand the election of Leo VIII., the successful rival of Benedict V. Leo was no model of virtue; his successor Benedict VI. was no better: the latter was imprisoned by a son of Theodora and of John X., and was soon afterwards either strangled or suffered to die of hunger. Boniface VII. is said to have been expelled for his crimes; he certainly fled to Constantinople, and was succeeded by Benedict VII, on whose death he returned to dispute the tiara with John XIV. He triumphed; John was imprisoned and murdered,—whether by *his* order, is uncertain, though by no means improbable, since his subsequent life was so irregular as to bring on his corpse the indignation of the rabble. His successor, John XV., is represented as a wholesale dealer in simony. Gregory V. was cruel. We must not, however, forget that most of these pontiffs were continually harassed by the insurrections of the Roman people, who, under the pretext of liberty, aimed at subverting all authority except that of a faction, and whose historians have doubtless somewhat exaggerated their vices. Where, however, the confirmation, the virtual nomination—for such at this period it was,—depended on the emperors, less regard would be paid to the qualifications of the candidate than to his favour at court, and to the degree in which he was likely to sacrifice the rights of the church to those of his imperial protector. Ecclesiastical patronage has seldom been well exercised by princes,—a truth confirmed by the whole tenor of history. This was the iron age of the church, when power, grown insolent by impunity, trampled on its freedom, and on public decency. Some immediate successors in the popedom were equally exceptionable. Benedict VIII.*,

* Benedict VIII. appeared after death to a certain bishop, "equitans," as a noble ecclesiastic of those days was expected to do, "supra unum equum nigrum,"—only the black horse in this case was a very fiend. The pope complained of the torments he endured, "propter peccata mea juste torqueor et affligor;" and confessed that even his almsgivings had availed him not, since they were part of his wicked acquisitions,—"nam eleemosynæ meæ ex bonis malè acquisitis exstiterunt factæ." However, his soul, he said,

John XIX. and Benedict IX. were all kinsmen, of the family of the Tusculum lords, and all arrived at this dignity by corruption. The last is represented by his successor, Victor III., as a monster, who was expelled by the indignant people; and at the same time Silvester III. was proclaimed; but he soon returned at the head of an armed force, and Silvester was glad to flee to his bishopric. One of his last acts was to sell the papacy to a rude, uncouth, stupid old priest, who took the name of Gregory VI., but whose ignorance was so incorrigible, that the people were compelled to give him a partner. These latter changes were made without the knowledge of the emperor, — a proof that the people, when left to themselves, were no better judges of papal qualifications than the imperial court. Indeed, of the two evils, imperial confirmation was by far preferable to election by a stupid factious mob, under knavish leaders. To end these scandals, Henry III. hastened to Rome, which exhibited the novel sight of three popes in open opposition to each other; Benedict IX. at San Giovanni de Latran, Gregory VI. at Santa Maria Maggiore, and Silvester at San Pietro del Vaticano. To decide on their respective claims the emperor called a council, — by what authority we are not informed, — at Sutri, which deposed all three, and raised Henry's friend, the bishop of Bamberg, under the name of Clement II., to the vacant dignity. This council is celebrated for an important concession to the temporal head of Christendom. The agents of the Greek and Carlovingian emperors had *assisted* at the election of the pope; but this privilege had not often been exercised by the potentates of Germany, whose confirmation only was admitted, after the candidate had been duly elected by the clergy and people of Rome. Instead of being satisfied with *less*, Henry insisted on *more* than the most favoured emperors had

would find mercy, if his successors would distribute a certain sum, which would be found in a certain place, to the poor. — *Amalricus Augerius.*

ever possessed: he wrung from the assembled fathers the extraordinary concession that thenceforward the imperial throne should have the entire nomination of the popes, without the intervention of clergy or people. But the time was at hand when the church was to be delivered alike from imperial oppression and from popular violence.*

1047 to 1073. Henry was pious, and the three next popes whom he appointed — Clement II., Damasus II., and Leo IX., who were followed by Victor II., a personal friend of the emperor — were excellent men: they laboured with success at the reformation of the church, deposed simoniacal or married dignitaries with unflinching rigour, and enforced in other respects the observance of the canons. In the existence of numerous revolting abuses, abundant testimony is afforded by St. Peter Damian, a contemporary writer, who represents the ignorance and vices of the clergy as very general, and who ventured to write admonitory letters to Gregory VI. and other popes on the subject. These abuses were evidently owing to the laxity of discipline; that laxity was the consequence of vicious or incapable popes; nor could suitable ones be always expected, so long as courtly favour or popular turbulence returned them to the chair of St. Peter. The successors of Victor II.—Stephen IX., Benedict XI., and Alexander II. — groaned over the state of religion; but, excellent as were their intentions, they wanted the necessary vigour of character — a vigour, it must be confessed, almost superhuman — to overturn the imperial incubus which pressed on the prostrate church. This work was reserved for an Italian of low birth; of no influence except what his talents

* Amalricus Augerius, de Vitis Pontificum, p. 322. 344. Frodoardus, de Pontificibus Romanis, p. 324. Pandulfus Pisanus, Catalogus Pontificum, passim. Baronius, Annales Ecclesiastici, et Muratori, Annali d'Italia (sub annis). Fleury, Histoire Ecclésiastique, tom. xii. lib. 55—59. Hermannus Contractus, Chronicon, p. 262, &c. Sancti Petri Damiani Opuscula, in Annali di Muratori, an. 1047. See also an account of this saint's zeal in the Bollandists, Acta Sanctorum, Feb. 27. Pfeffel, Histoire d'Allemagne, tom. i. p. 196, 197.

gave him, but perhaps the most remarkable man of the middle ages. Hildebrand was a native of Tuscany, but he appears to have been educated in the celebrated monastery of Clugni, and we know that in his youth he embraced the monastic profession. By Leo IX. he was ordained subdeacon, and placed over the monastery of St. Paul, where, if, as we are told, the few monks who remained were so far removed from their institute as to be accompanied by female servants instead of lay-brothers, he must have had enough to do. He effected a thorough reformation; the lands which had been seized by feudal violence he restored to the house; the number of inmates was augmented, and the observance of the rule enforced. The sacrifice of the human affections naturally increased the intensity of his devotional feelings; he lived only for his religion and his church, to the interests of which he readily sacrificed every other object; nay, he appears, with an asceticism not very common in that age and country, to have considered every gratification sinful which did not tend to the glory of God's service. Of a commanding genius, sparing in his rebukes neither spiritual nor temporal princes, bold in his preaching, vehement in his denunciation of existing abuses, stern in his manners, irreproachable in his conduct, he was fitted to acquire power; and power he certainly sought, not assuredly as a means of self-gratification, but of promoting the glory of the church. While yet subdeacon his talents were so conspicuous, that he was sent by Victor III. as legate into France, where he presided in two councils, and where, with inflexible rigour, he deposed every bishop accused of simony or concubinage, and inflicted a heavy penance on inferior ecclesiastics. By Nicolas II. he was made archdeacon of the Roman church: he would doubtless have attained a much higher dignity, had not his unsparing manner of rebuke made him many enemies: probably, too, the sternness of his manners procured him the dislike of all. But his talents could not be spared; he was evidently bent

on effecting the complete independence of the church; in freeing it at once from imperial and popular influence; and, in all cases of difficulty or danger, he was consulted as an oracle. In fact, three successive popes, Stephen IX., Nicolas II., and Alexander II. were but the ministers of his will; the two latter had been appointed by his interest. In 1058 he made Stephen proclaim that marriage was inconsistent with the priestly character, that the wives of priests were mere concubines, from whom they must separate, or submit to excommunication. The clergy of Milan opposed the rescript, on the pretext that it was contrary to the peculiar privilege of their church, to the priests of which St. Ambrose himself had granted the extension of the Greek law — that any of them might marry *once, with a virgin*. In the end most of them submitted; such as were refractory were punished as Nicolaitan heretics. The next blow was aimed at the laymen, who, in virtue of the feudal system, exercised the patronage of the church. During the first three centuries the clergy of each church were elected by the people, and the bishops by both; for, as all ecclesiastics were maintained by the voluntary contributions of the faithful, it was considered merely just that they should have a voice in their election. But specious as this system may appear, it was reprobated by experience: faction, intrigue, cabal, violence, on the one part; a base condescension, a shameful degradation, on the other; prevailed to such an extent, that a good choice was seldom made. So little discernment had been exhibited by the people—how, in fact, could illiterate men be judges of clerical qualification?—that the bishops were compelled to interfere, to declare that no election should be valid, unless the successful candidate were approved by themselves. But from the canons of councils and from the fragments of fathers, we learn that the voluntary oblations were not long sufficient to the support of the altar: the fervour of early Christianity had evaporated; self had resumed its natural

dominion over the heart; offerings were made sparingly and grudgingly; and it was found absolutely necessary to the very existence of a church, that some more certain means of support should be devised. Hence the institution of tithes, the use of which had been consecrated by the command of God himself, under the Jewish law, which experience long proved to be the most judicious support of the Christian church. As the maintenance of the clergy was thus transferred from the tenants to the owners of land, from the people to the nobles, the influence of the former in all elections began rapidly to decline. That decline was accelerated by the conditions exacted by the landowners in the endowment of new, or the repair of old churches. The maintenance of the clergy had changed hands: it had passed exclusively to the rich; the rich therefore claimed the privilege which had been annexed to that maintenance. The people, said they, formerly supported the clergy, and in return were allowed to choose them: *we* are ready to incur the same obligation in return for the same privilege. The proposal was accepted, nor did the people generally lament the change: in fact, they rejoiced to escape from an onerous charge. Thenceforward the presentation of the pastor descended with the domain, according to the laws of succession; that presentation being made to the bishop, who was bound to see that the candidate had the requisite qualifications, or to reject him. But impartial wisdom must condemn both forms of choice; if the one was often the result of blind violence, the other was accompanied by almost equal evil. Experience soon proved, in cases where the endowment was considerable, that patrons would generally present relatives, or friends, or dependents, without much regard to the primary qualifications; and that bishops could often be complying. In regard to bishops and the abbots themselves, the course of things was equally favourable to the nobles. Though appointed by the church, none of them could enter on the exercise of his functions, until he had

received the investiture from the hands of the lay-owner or governor of the domain, in which the benefice was situated. Both these conditions, viz. presentation and investiture, were a necessary consequence of the feudal system; the former was ever regarded as a right inseparable from property, the latter from dominion. If the laws of that system forbade the fief to be sold, the disposal of the *utile dominium*, or the revenues and rights attached to it, could often be alienated for a period: hence that of presentation became venal, and rich benefices could be bought for money. Here was simony, indeed, at once wicked and dangerous, which soon became common enough to provoke the execration of every honest mind.* Yet all this abuse might easily have been prevented. The election of ecclesiastics should not have been confined exclusively to one of the parties; it should have been shared by all. The people might have been allowed to elect one candidate, the patron to nominate another, the diocesan with his clergy a third. All these might subsequently have undergone a public examination before a provincial synod, consisting partly of bishops, and partly of other church dignitaries, and a plurality of suffrages might have determined which of the three candidates possessed in a superior degree the qualifications for the office.† But, obvious as such a remedy must have proved to all classes, we do not learn that any thing resembling it was ever imagined. Had it been adopted, what scandal to the church, what injury to religion, and consequently to society, would have been averted! Well might Hildebrand devote his whole soul to the correction of

* England is the only country in Christendom where simony is now openly practised and vindicated. We do not hear it *whispered*, as in Roman Catholic countries: it is proclaimed in every newspaper.

† Without some such mode of preferment as the one above suggested, no church can long stand. That of Rome has fallen, that of England is falling, through want of it: the former, however, has mended, and is returning towards prosperity; the latter seems incorrigible, and will probably be utterly destroyed. The same suggestion would clearly not apply to the election of bishops; but let that election rest any where rather than with the crown or the people.

such an abuse; well might he vow never to desist until he had destroyed what he truly called a shameful traffic in the gifts of the Holy Ghost. In the Lateran council of 1059, all ecclesiastics who had obtained their places through simony were deposed.* But the most remarkable acts of this council regarded the election of the popes, — the greatest of all the abuses which had hitherto prevailed, the cause of such frequent schisms. It was decreed, that, immediately on the death of a pope, the cardinals should first assemble, and agree as to the individual most worthy to fill the vacant dignity; that the clergy of Rome and a few of the laity should then be called in, not to vote or deliberate, but to approve the choice which had been made. By this politic innovation, the right of suffrage was at once taken from the laity, who, however, were consoled with a specious adherence to ancient forms; the cardinals were constituted into an electoral college, in which alone was invested the undivided power of appointing the head of Christendom. Some dark allusion was, indeed, made to the honour due to the reigning emperor, Henry; but that honour was defined as *personal;* as conferred by good pleasure of the pope; as one that might lawfully be withheld: in short, the mere presence of an imperial commissary was represented as an act of peculiar favour to the emperor; and, from the terms of the canon, he would, if present, have no more influence in the election than any other of the laity, — in other words, none whatever. Two years afterwards, Alexander II., by the counsel of Hildebrand, was elected without the approbation of the empress regent†,

* Sismondi (i. 120.) certainly commits an error in saying, that "priests were inhibited from receiving any benefice from the hands of a layman;" that "kings and nobles were deprived of the right which their ancestors had left them,—that of bestowing benefices." In looking over the acts of the council, we perceive no such sweeping inhibition: we see only a prohibition against receiving preferment in a simoniacal way, or from a simoniacal person.

† Sismondi (i. 122.) says, that the approbation of the court was not so much as demanded: it appears, however, that, for form's sake, cardinal

(Henry IV. was then in his minority); a proceeding which so incensed the imperial court, that it ordered the election of another pope, Cadalus, bishop of Parma, who assumed the name of Honorius II. The crimes of this Cadalus were perhaps aggravated by the pen of St. Peter Damian; but certainly we have evidence enough to believe that he did little honour to the choice of Agnes. He armed in defence of his fancied rights, assailed Rome, and defeated a body of Romans; but he was compelled to retreat by the duke of Tuscany. He was soon afterwards deposed from his see; but unto his death, though reduced to poverty, and compelled to wander from place to place in search of an asylum, he persisted in retaining his papal title.*

1073 to 1076. When Hildebrand, as Gregory VII., ascended the pontifical throne, Henry IV. had just reached his majority. As the latter was a prince of uncontrolled passions, and resolved to vindicate the direct authority of his predecessors over the holy see; as the former considered that all the kingdoms of the earth should be subject to Christ's vicar, and was determined, at all risks, to rescue the bishops from the necessity of submitting to imperial investiture, — of doing homage for their temporalities to the head of the state, — a collision was perceived to be inevitable. A new subject of dispute hastened the catastrophe. The countess Matilda, a lady of great talents, of great piety, and of still greater attachment to the holy see, inherited, by

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Stephen was sent into Germany; but that he could not procure access to the emperor, who pretended that the choice of the successor should have been left to him; but the impatient conclave did not wait his return, and Alexander was elected. This bold step would, perhaps, not have been taken, had Henry III. been alive.

* Amalricus Augerius, necnon Pandolphus Pisanus, Vitæ Romanorum Pontificum, p. 355. Petrus Cardinalis Arragoniæ, necnon Episcopus Licibertus, Vitæ Pontificum, p. 282, &c. S. Damiani Opuscula, § 20—37. Landulfus Senior, Historia Mediolanensis, lib. iii. et iv. Corio, Historia di Milano, passim. Baronius, Annales Ecclesiastici, an. 1047—1063. Pagi, Critica in Baronii Annales (ad eosdem annos). Muratori, Annali d'Italia (sub iisdem annis). Sismondi, Histoire des Rép. tom. i. chap. 3. Fleury, Histoire Ecclésiastique, tom. xiii. lib. 60. Pfeffel, Histoire d'Allemagne, tom. i. p. 196—208.

the death of her parents, the most extensive fief which any Italian subject had yet possessed, comprehending Tuscany, with the modern duchies of Parma, Reggio, Massa, Spoleto, and Modena. She devoted her money and troops to the exaltation of the holy see; yet, as a vassal of the Lombard crown for a portion of her inheritance, she was surely not justified in making war on her liege sovereign, the emperor. As she had no issue by her two successive husbands, from both of whom she separated on finding that they were not disposed to aid her meditated schemes, she signed, during her friend Gregory's pontificate, an instrument by which she bequeathed to the holy see the whole of her possessions. By this important act she greatly aggrandised the power of the popes; but, at the same time, she embittered the animosity between the heads of the temporal and spiritual worlds. At her death, the fiefs which she held of the Lombard crown, should have reverted to the empire; she had no power to transmit them; she could bequeath only the territories which, in the language of the feudal law, she possessed *en franc aleu*, or allodially*, or by full hereditary sovereignty. Gregory, however, laid claim to all. Nor was he without just subject of complaint against Henry. For some ages, especially during the last two, simony had unblushingly prevailed: scarcely had a single ecclesiastical dignity been conferred by the imperial crown gratuitously. No sooner was one vacant, or expected to be so, than a swarm of ambitious churchmen endeavoured by offers of money, of tribute, or of unusual military services, to obtain it; in fact, a consideration was almost always given for it.† This abuse loudly

* Allodium, Gallicè Aleu, Aleu franc, vel franc Aleu: et dicitur allodium hæreditas quem vendere et donare possum.—*Ducange*, ad vocem.

† Even Pfeffel, the advocate of the regalities, calls the never-ceasing arts of simony at this period, des abus affreux et intolerables. Les évêches et les abbés furent vendus à l'enchère; souvent ils deviennent la recompense du crime et des plus horribles égaremens; et les titulaires, qui avoient payé tres cher quelque benefice majeur, cherchant à se dedommager, revendoient en detail, avec une impunité scandaleuse, les églises qui leur

demanded a remedy: Gregory thought the only effectual one would be to deprive the emperors altogether of the right of investiture. That right, however, they had exercised without dispute since the time of Charlemagne. In some places, indeed, the chapters, conjointly with the chief laymen, had elected their own bishops and abbots; sometimes the emperor, of his own authority, had nominated to the vacant dignities; more frequently he had been contented with recommending a candidate to the suffrages of the electors. But the most ordinary mode, that which could alone be truly called canonical, was for the chapter and people to elect their bishop, at the time appointed by the sovereign; if the candidate were approved, he received, as signs of investiture, the crosier and ring; if disapproved, they were commanded to proceed to a new election. Yet Gregory might justly contend that the right was but of modern origin; that it was the growth of the feudal system; that it was forfeited by its abuse; and that he, as the conservator of discipline, was bound to interfere. But arguments would have satisfied neither party; the contest must evidently be decided by the physical force of the one, and the moral influence of the other. Before proceeding to extremities, Gregory sent several affectionate letters to the emperor, whom he exhorted to the extirpation of simony, and at the same time to a renunciation of the privilege of investiture. When he found, however, that Henry persisted in retaining the obnoxious privilege, he cited him to appear before a synod at Rome, not so much to answer for his conduct, as to join in the solemn approbation of the measures which were in progress for the extirpation of simony and priestly fornication — for such all clerical marriages were declared to be. Henry, who had been occupied in quelling domestic rebellion, had hitherto tem-

étoient subordonnées. (*Histoire*, i. 227.) All this is abundantly confirmed by the acts of councils, and by the epistles of contemporary churchmen.

porised, and even promised submission; but now, the Saxons being humbled, he disdained to obey the citation. He knew that all the married ecclesiastics—and the number at this time appears to have been prodigious—would take his part. In fact, the terrific thunders of recent councils against such connections had been received with curses by many churches of Germany and Italy, and by a few of France and England. Some of the clergy openly testified their intention of forsaking the altar rather than their wives. They contended that a priest was still a man; that the gratification of a natural propensity was not forbidden by the law of God; that, if the indulgence sanctioned by marriage were removed, a loose rein would be given to secret impurity; that, when they were deprived of their cures, they should be glad to see where the pope would find angels to replace them. Confiding in this wide-spread feeling, Henry, in a synod held at Worms, prevailed on twenty-four bishops and other dignitaries to declare "the monk Hildebrand" deposed from the chair of St. Peter. The crimes of which the pope was accused merit no attention, since they were the sole invention of cardinal Ugo Candido, himself excommunicated, and since the private life of Gregory is above reproach. In fact, no one present believed them: all knew that they had no authority to depose a pope, since they did not form an œcumenical council, and were not canonically convoked; nor could they be ignorant that no council could depose a bishop, much less the pope, while absent and unheard; but passion urged the adoption of violence. Letters were written by the council to the bishops of Lombardy, calling on them to throw off their allegiance to "the monk;" and the bishops of that province, assembled at Pavia, swore on the holy gospels never to acknowledge him as pope. This strange proceeding, joined to Gregory's escape from imminent death in a conspiracy at Rome, left him no alternative but to vindicate his authority. Had he contented himself with de-

posing the rebellious prelates, he would have been justified by his own times and by posterity; but, full of the monstrous notion that the kingdoms of the world ought to be subject to the jurisdiction of Christ's vicar, and hurried away by the natural impetuosity of his character, he not only excommunicated the emperor, but deposed him, absolving the Germans and Italians from their oaths of allegiance.*

1076 to 1278. Here commences the far-famed struggle of the investitures, which, during two centuries, distracted the Christian world, and deluged a great portion of Italy with blood. Into its details we cannot enter, the more especially as we have already shown how, in self-defence, the popes placed themselves at the head of the Guelfs; and how, with the same feeling, they sought protection in the Norman dukes, whom they elevated into kings of Naples. We shall merely glance at the chief results. Henry, with all his power, could not resist that of opinion; especially when his allies, the married clergy, were forced into submission to the holy see. Deserted by his bishops and councillors, and in danger of deposition by his own subjects, he had no alternative but to seek a reconciliation with his enemy. In the midst of winter he traversed the Alps, and hastened to Canossa, where Gregory awaited him; but, before he could be admitted to the pope's presence, he was enjoined, and, to his shame be it said, he underwent, a most humiliating penance. Divested of his royal garb, with naked feet and bare-headed, he stood three whole days, from sunrise to sunset, in the court-yard of the castle; and when, on the fourth, he was admitted to the presence of Gregory, and relieved from the excommunication, he was not restored to his empire, but commanded to submit to a new trial before the princes of Germany. Indignant at his baseness, were the barons, both of Lombardy and of Germany; some talked

* Chiefly the same authorities, to which must be added Lambertus Schaffhaburgensis, and the other historians of Germany.

of proclaiming his son Conrad, while others, who were joined by the papal creatures, actually proclaimed his brother Rudolf, duke of Suabia. This anti-Cæsar, as he is called by the German historians, was openly acknowledged by Gregory; but Henry, after some years of harassing warfare, triumphed for a time, invaded the papal states, took Rome by assault, besieged Gregory in the castle of St. Angelo, and opposed to him an anti-pope. But he also had his competitors to empire: his own son Conrad entered the lists against him. Though Gregory died in 1085, Victor III., Urban II., Pascal II., succeeded, as well to his spirit as to his dignity. Though the emperor triumphed over Conrad, towards the close of his life he had a more formidable enemy in his second son, Henry, whom he had the mortification to see crowned in his stead. His last days were passed in indigence; nor could he obtain for his support a lay-prebend in a country which he had governed so many years. Henry V. was not long in harmony with Pascal, at whose instigation he had dethroned his father; the subject of investiture was the everlasting bone of contention. In his first irruption into Italy, he took the pope prisoner, and forced him, under fear of death, to renounce the new pretensions of the holy see. But this renunciation was unavailing: the cardinals refused to confirm it; a general council released him from the obligation, and excommunicated the emperor. The latter returned; seized the domains of the deceased Matilda, which he asserted could not be alienated from the crown; and expelled Pascal, who soon died. But the two succeeding popes, Gelasius II. and Calixtus II., continued the opposition, until Henry himself, perceiving the hopelessness of his pretensions, ceded, in 1122, the investiture by cross and ring to the church, and engaged to restore the possessions which he and his father had seized. On the other hand, the pope granted to the emperor the sterile privilege of being present at elections, as a sort of president; and the

more substantial one of investing the dignitary elect with the temporalities, by the delivery of a sceptre, — a form much less obnoxious to the church (for what reasons would be difficult to assign) than the investiture by cross and ring. By this compromise, if the emperor lost all power over the choice of his ecclesiastical subjects, he had the consolation of knowing, that from an obnoxious one he could withhold the temporalities, that which constituted the most desirable adjunct of the dignity. From this period, during near half a century, if there was no open hostility between the two potentates, there was jealousy enough. That the haughtiness of the pontiffs had not diminished, was apparent from Adrian IV., on receiving a visit from Frederic Barbarossa, insisting that the latter should hold the stirrup of his horse: besides, he secretly favoured the efforts of the Lombard cities in the war of independence, while the emperor was not slow to favour the rebellions of the Romans, who often endeavoured to throw off the yoke of their theocratic government. With equal zeal did he espouse the cause of the antipope, Victor III.: the consequence was his excommunication by the lawful pontiff, Alexander III. In 1167, he assailed Rome, and expelled Alexander; but a contagion spreading among his troops forced him to retreat. During this interval the pope was not blind to the interests of the church. In the third Lateran council of 1179, the election of popes was declared to be vested exclusively in the cardinals, and that the candidate who should obtain two-thirds of their suffrages, should be regarded as the legitimate head of the faithful. The death of Alexander and peace of Constance, in 1183, seemed to promise a considerable period of tranquillity; but it was soon discovered that even when the subject of investiture was laid aside, as if by mutual consent, there were other matters of dispute. Lucius III. and Urban III. demanded an absolute renunciation by the emperor of all feudal rights over the

clergy, and by lay impropriators, — and no demand could be more just, — of the tithes which, in many places, they had usurped; and that the allodial rights possessed by the countess Matilda should be surrendered to the holy see.* The conquests of Saladin suspended the thunder of the pontiff. Frederic departed for the Holy Land, and perished in a river near Seleucia. His son and successor, Henry VI., did not hesitate to confer the fiefs of Tuscany, Ancona, Romagna, and Spoleto, — possessions comprised partly in the alleged gift of Charlemagne, and partly in the domains of the countess Matilda, — on three of his princes, who retained them during his life. On his death, in 1197, Innocent III., incensed at this violation of his rights, ordered that the march of Ancona and the duchy of Spoleto should be seized by open force. But there was no occasion for bloodshed: both territories were dissatisfied with the oppressive government of the German feudatories. In the one, Ancona, Osimo, Camerino, Fani, Jesi, Sinigaglia, and Pesaro; in the other, Rieti, Spoleto, Assisi, Foligno, Nocera, Perugia, Agobbio and Città di Castello, opened their gates to the papa agents, and were guaranteed in their municipal institutions. As to the cities of Tuscany, some of which were already beginning to be flourishing republics, they were no more willing to receive the yoke of the pope than of the emperor; they cared not for the bequest of Matilda; and as they were too powerful to be reduced, all that Innocent could do was to convert them into his allies, by sanctioning their new-born freedom, and by declaring them the protectors of the church. In fact, all joined the Guelf or Tuscan league, except Pisa, which, as we have before observed, was always distinguished for its fidelity to the empire. Innocent was not satisfied with these advantages: dreading the

* There is nothing unjust in the two latter demands; but the first, that which would exempt ecclesiastical fiefs from the service of the state, was as unreasonable as it was common.

power and genius of the house of Hohenstauffen, which possessed the crown of the Two Sicilies, he laboured to deprive it of the imperial: hence he supported Berthold, in opposition to Philip, son of Frederic I.; and when Philip persuaded Berthold to desist from his claims, Otho was next raised up as an enemy by his intrigues. Though Philip triumphed, and even disarmed Innocent by the proposal of a matrimonial alliance between one of his daughters and a nephew of the pontiff, his assassination again arrested the negotiations. The accession of Otho IV., a Guelf, the member of a family which had always espoused the part of the church, was considered as a bond of harmony between the two princes. He was solemnly crowned by Innocent, after engaging to revoke all pretensions over the march of Ancona and the duchy of Spoleto. But the pretensions, we may add the duties of both, prevented their permanent reconciliation. Otho was blamed for dismembering the states of the empire; he revoked his engagement, and expelled the papal troops from the two provinces. To perfidy he added insult, by commanding the pope to annul the concordat of 1122, — to restore to the emperors their ancient right of nominating to dignities and benefices. This presumption ruined him; even the German prelates took part against him. Excommunicated, opposed by Frederic II., son of Henry VI., deserted by his adherents, he retired to his hereditary states of Brunswick. One of Frederic's first acts in favour of his protector was to renew the cession of Matilda's domains, and to sanction the right of appeal from his ecclesiastics to the court of Rome: in a subsequent diet, at Frankfort, he renounced the right of imperial jurisdiction in the episcopal cities, except during the actual session of a diet. He did more: at the request of Honorius III., the successor of Innocent, he ceded the kingdom of the Two Sicilies to his son, and promised that it should never be incorporated with the empire. But no emperor, still

less an emperor and a king, least of all a Hohenstauffen, could long remain in harmony with the holy see. Gregory IX. assisted by his cardinals, excommunicated Frederic, who had certainly evaded some of his engagements: in revenge, Matilda's domains—that everlasting apple of discord,—were invaded, and Rome insulted.* Innocent IV., the successor of Gregory, though, prior to his elevation, a personal friend of the emperor, refused to remove the excommunication, unless former conventions were fulfilled; but Frederic was obstinate, and remained under the ban of the church until his death in 1250. The same dissensions continued during the reign of Conrad IV., who, in a similar manner, eluded the engagements of his predecessors, and to whom Innocent raised up a rival in William count of Holland. The reign of William, a Guelf, was too short to permit the restoration of peace between the temporal and spiritual chiefs. The troubles which agitated the empire during the rival pretensions of Richard earl of Cornwall, and Alfonso X. of Castile, prevented Alexander IV., Urban, and Clement IV., the successors of Innocent, from effecting the same object. To banish the Hohenstauffen dynasty from the throne of the Two Sicilies, the two latter pontiffs called in the aid of Charles d'Anjou; the result was, a separation, as we have before related †, of the two crowns. But the successors of Clement found that they had only exchanged one dangerous neighbour for another; that they were absolutely at the mercy of Charles, who seized their very capital. Gregory X., indeed, preserved Italy from this new danger: to counterbalance the rising power of the French prince, he gave peace to the empire, by persuading the diet to elect another sovereign, Rudolf of Hapsburg. His immediate successors, however, (of whom there were three in one year,) were weak and pusillanimous, until Nicolas III. escaped from thraldom by

* Frederic's acts as king of Lombardy and of Sicily, will be found in the histories of those kingdoms.

† See the corresponding period in the history of Naples and Sicily.

entering into alliance with Rudolf. And now we are arrived at the termination of the long dispute between the empire and the church. Omitting all mention of investitures, during a full century the emperors, on receiving the crown from the hands of the pope, had confirmed the pretensions of the holy see over Romagna, the march of Ancona, the Pentapolis, the exarchate of Ravenna, the duchy of Spoleto, &c.—of nearly all the territories comprised in the gift of Charlemagne and the bequest of Matilda,—but this engagement they had always evaded. It was reserved for Rudolf to act with sincerity, and consequently to secure peace. By his letters-patent he solemnly renounced all claim over those fertile regions, which he recognised as possessions lawfully appertaining to the holy see. Tuscany, as may be readily supposed, was not included in this cession; and the countries to the north, Parma, Reggio, Modena, Bologna, Ferrara, &c. belonged properly to the lords of Milan and Verona, and partly to native usurpers, who were too powerful to be disturbed. But Rome, if she agreed to temporise, kept an eye on these territories. Bologna and Ferrara were recovered in the following century; some other places, as the duchy of Urbino, not until the seventeenth; the fate of Parma, Modena, Reggio, &c. has already been related. The concordat as to the investiture was also sanctioned by Rodolf; so that no cause of dissension remained between him and Nicolas.*

1278 to 1500. From this time forward the two potentates were not of necessity hostile, though jealousy or fear, policy or ambition, often made them so. The emperors at-

* We have not room for the authorities on which the above long paragraph is founded; they comprehend all the contemporary writers of Italy and Germany, with most of the French; most of them have been cited in the corresponding periods of the history of Lombardy, of Genoa, Pisa, Florence, and of Naples. The chief are Baronius and Raynaldus, Annales Ecclesiastici; Muratori, Annali d'Italia; Fleury, Histoire Ecclésiastique; Giovanni Villani, Historia Univ. di suoi Temp.; Corio, Historia di Milano; Summonte, Historia di Napoli; Anselmus Gemblacensis, Chronicon; Sire Raoul, de Rebus Frederici I.; Otto de S. Blasio, Chronicon; Raumer, Geschichte der Hohenstauffen; Sismondi, Hist. des Rép.

tempted to extend their sovereignty over Tuscany; the popes were resolved to prevent it: hence, in the interminable contests between the Ghibelins and Guelfs, each either openly assisted or secretly favoured his party. The policy of the popes in regard to the affairs of Naples and Sicily we have already shown; their remaining career, as governors of the church, we shall hastily despatch. Some of the immediate successors of Nicolas were the creatures of France; intrigues or violence created a majority of cardinals in that interest; Benedict XI., who endeavoured to shake off the influence of Philip le Bel, suddenly and suspiciously died; Clement V., a Frenchman, carried his baseness so far as to sacrifice the rights of the see and his own conscience to gratify Philip; John XXII. of the same nation, like Clement, remained in France, and in all things took part with Philip against the emperor; on his death at Avignon, in 1334, another Frenchman, Benedict XII., was elected, and the seat of the church remained at Avignon; so also were Clement VI., Innocent VI. and Urban V. Urban was the sixth pope who sat at Avignon. The reign of these pontiffs is drawn in revolting colours by contemporary Italian writers, and the portrait is confirmed by those of France. With one exception, that of Clement VI., they are represented as imbued with almost every vice, so that Avignon was called the Western Babylon. In these descriptions there is doubtless much exaggeration; but it cannot be denied that these French popes had lost their sense of dignity, that they were the mere slaves of France, that they were dissolute in their manners, negligent of their duties, worldly in their views, generally feeble in talent. All Christendom began to exclaim against this subservience of the spiritual to the temporal power. If the successors of St. Peter, said the world, must have a temporal master, far better would be the yoke of the emperors than that of the French. Penetrated with this feeling, Urban declared his resolution of

declaration
with regret:
accompanied him
he en-
been absent full
virtuous man,
appeared
scenes
the entreaties
scarcely sur-
by another
died at
ceive his death;
his successor
the Italians re-
replace
the way to
the church
between the conclave
that the
the twenty-
the universal
Seven
Provence; one
the same nation re-
four Italian and
cardinals hated
who would
the resolution be-
the palace of
have a pope
exaltation of the
the sacred college
among the French
the other
the people,
the suffrages
Bari, who,
naturalised in France.

But the cardinals, dreading the wrath of the populace, who had begun to clamour for a Roman alone, hastily fled before the election was proclaimed; at length the tumult was assuaged, and the archbishop was enthroned as Urban VI., and was soon acknowledged by the cardinals at Avignon. Urban was at this time an enlightened, sincere, and humble Christian, an enemy to simony and luxury, and above all zealous for the good report no less than for the discipline of the church. But his very virtues, or rather let us say the corruption of the times, caused the schism which followed. In several of his discourses he inveighed with justice against the vices of his cardinals, called them ravenous wolves which devoured Christ's flock, upbraided them for so frequently forsaking their charges, threatened to excommunicate any one who should receive a present from any secular prince, and enjoined them to be satisfied with one frugal dish at their meals. The manner of these reproaches was more offensive than the matter; his determination never to leave Rome, and to create a number of Italian cardinals, sufficient to destroy foreign influence, added to their discontent; his calling some of them by opprobrious epithets — liars and fools — raised it to perfect detestation. Thirteen of them departed for Anagni, in Campania, where they encouraged each other to resistance. Their first intention was to give him a coadjutor, but on reflection they preferred his deposition, on the ground that the election had been made from fear of violence, and was therefore null. All this, however, was mere pretence; the election had been strictly ceremonial in its forms, and it had not pleased the populace, who had clamoured for a Roman. In little more than three months from his elevation they declared the holy see vacant, proceeded to give their suffrages in favour of the cardinal of Geneva, a Frenchman, who assumed the name of Clement VII. In his own defence he created twenty-six Italian cardinals, and hence the celebrated schism which during so long a period divided the Christian world. France,

and of course Naples, declared for Clement; Spain followed the example; while Italy, Germany, Hungary, England, and Portugal acknowledged Urban. The latter naturally fixed his seat at Rome, while the former proceeded first to Naples, whence, on finding his situation insecure, he hastened to Avignon. Into the history of this schism we cannot enter. We may observe, by way of summary, that as Urban grew older, he grew more imprudent, until he was distinguished for little beyond violence; that he assisted Charles duke of Durazzo to dethrone Joanna of Naples*; that he quarrelled with Charles, by whom he was besieged in Nocera; that with much difficulty he escaped to Genoa; that before his departure he discovered a conspiracy among his cardinals, who had resolved either to depose him, or to give him a coadjutor; that he seized six of the most guilty, put them to t[illegible]ture, extorted a confession, and soon after his a[illegible]noa drowned them in the sea; that his i[illegible]ties caused most of his former adhe[illegible]; that after a life of imprudence [illegible] at Rome in 1389, and was suc[illegible] that in the same manner Cle[illegible]dict XIII.; that several nat[illegible] Germany called on both [illegible]; that, in 1404, Boni[illegible]VII., who in four y[illegible]ory XII.; that, no[illegible] Christian world, [illegible] disinterested [illegible] abandon th[illegible] was con- [illegible]ve cardi- [illegible] bishops, [illegible]er with [illegible] that the [illegible] autho- [illegible] popes;

that they declared both guilty of schism, excommunicate, and deposed; that the assembled cardinals elected the archbishop of Milan, under the name of Alexander V., on the condition that he would convoke a new council for the reformation of the church; that the new pontiff was immediately obeyed by all Europe, except Spain, which adhered to Benedict, and Naples and Bavaria, which in the same manner refused to forsake Gregory; that Christian Europe had thus three popes, Gregory at Rome, Alexander at Pistoia, and Benedict in Aragon; that the council of Pisa therefore failed in the extinction of the schism, which, on the death of Alexander, was confirmed by the election at Florence of John XXIII.; that by this last-named pope a general council was convoked, and assembled at Constance, to which all the princes of Europe sent ambassadors; that in it all the three popes were declared usurpers; that John was deposed, and Gregory persuaded to abdicate the papacy; that Benedict, on refusing to abdicate, was also deposed; and that in 1417 the schism was ended by the elevation of Martin V.—During this long period several cities of the ecclesiastical states had freed themselves from the authority of Rome, and either erected themselves into republics, or unwillingly submitted to some local tyrant. Martin recovered all except Bologna, which was recovered by Eugenius IV. But this new pontiff had to sustain numerous, sometimes disastrous, wars against his turbulent vassals, and against Francesco Sforza, afterwards duke of Milan, in which Romagna and the march of Ancona were lost to him for a season. Nor was his reign in other respects tranquil. The council of Bâle, which had been convoked by his predecessor, which met in the first year of his pontificate, and which sat during many years, exhibited a democratic spirit, and insisted on all but an annihilation of the papal prerogatives. His resistance to its demands brought on him the sentence of deposition, and Felix V. was proclaimed in his stead. But this violent proceeding was disapproved by many of the fathers, and Eugenius was able to convoke another council at Ferrara,

which he afterwards transferred to Florence. Thus was the schism renewed; but, fortunately, it was of short duration; for after the death of Eugenius, and the election of Nicolas V., Felix, who had few adherents left, was persuaded to abdicate. Of the immediate successors of Nicolas, little good can be spoken. That they should be intent on the entire recovery of the possessions of the church, is natural, but that their pretensions should extend over Tuscany, Modena, Parma, and all the territories formerly possessed by Matilda — territories which had never yet obeyed them — was certainly indiscreet, and even criminal, since there could be no well-founded hope that the blood expended in pursuit of this object would not be shed in vain. Still more detestable was the manner in which the popes attempted that object; they showed that they were amply imbue with the worst vices of Italian politicians. To complet the portrait, we might glance at their still more zealous efforts to aggrandise their kinsmen, sometimes their illegitimate offspring, generally their nephews; but our limits will not allow, and assuredly we have no disposition to exhibit the revolting sight. We will merely observe, that during a full century many of the popes appeared no better than personifications of the worst principles. That their vices, more than Luther's preaching, brought on the reformation, is undoubted. Adrian VI. was a virtuous man, but he could not undo the mischief effected by such predecessors as Alexander VI., Julius II., and Leo X.; and the good impression which he made was effaced by the worthlessness of his successors. The catalogue of ambitious and unprincipled pontiffs, who would have sacrificed the church itself to the exaltation of their families, ends with Paul III., in 1549; that of dissolute ones with his successor, Julius III., in 1555. With the Council of Trent and Paul IV. commenced a new era. If we except the atrocious persecutions which they urged against the Protestants, they were, from this period, men of rigid virtue; within the two last centuries they

have done honour to human nature. This change in their principles and conduct has been effected by two great causes; first by the progress of reformation; and, secondly, by the consolidation of the imperial power in Italy — a power which has prevented both popes and foreign princes from renewing the revolutions which almost daily afflicted that country. The events of our own days — those arising from the French revolution — are an exception; but even they have been followed by increased tranquillity.*

It must not be supposed that the temporal domination of the popes, in Rome itself, was always popular, or that it experienced no interruption. That the city would long continue to regret its ancient freedom was to be expected, from the republican institutes which it had always enjoyed, and to which new vigour was imparted after the fall of the western empire. They were established by Gregory VII., but circumstances from time to time concurred to favour the popular cause. In the twelfth century, the Romans restored their senate, the head of which they called a patrician; but as the pope had then a considerable party, the two authorities soon came into collision. Both sought allies; Lucius II. in Roger of Sicily, the feudatory of the holy see, and the senate in Conrad III. But Conrad, though hostile to the pope, had no wish to encourage a band of ardent republicans. The cause, however, was well supported by the preaching of the famous heretic and republican monk, Arnaldo† of Brescia, who arrived at Rome with 1070 to 1454.

* The authorities on which the above long paragraph is founded are absolutely too numerous to be cited or even named: they embrace the contemporary historians of all Europe. The chief are Raynaldus, Annales Ecclesiastici, tom. i.—xv.; Fleury, and his continuator, Histoire Ecclésiastique, tom. xv.—xx.; the Lives of the Popes, by a multitude of writers; the histories of the councils, especially those of Constance, Bâle, and Trent; Matteo Villani, Antonio Summonte, Muratori, Machiavelli; Guicciardini, and the other secular historians of Italy; Zurita, Anales de Aragon, tom. ii.—v.; and Lucius Marineus Siculus, among the historians of Spain; those of Germany, in the collections of Menckenius, Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum, tom. i.—iii.; of Pistorius and Struvius, in the Rer. Germ. Script. tom. i.—iii.; and those of France, in the collection of Buchon, Collection des Chroniques Nationales Françaises, tom. i., p. 48. Lastly, Sismondi, Histoire des Rép. tom. iv.—xii.

† The monastic habit was merely assumed: Arnaldo was a simple reader in the choir.

two thousand mountaineers at his back. Lucius, Eugenius III., Anastasius IV., and Adrian IV. were constrained to bend before the storm; their temporal power was humbled, and their spiritual the object of bold, vehement attack. Incensed by the attempted assassination of a legate, Adrian placed the city under an interdict; but on the senators engaging to banish Arnaldo, it was soon raised. At this time (1155), Frederic Barbarossa was approaching Rome, to receive the imperial crown: both parties sought his protection; but as he had more need of the pope than of the republicans, with whom he was at open war in Lombardy, he quickly decided on delivering the preacher into the hands of the Roman prefect, the papal magistrate. The result was the execution of Arnaldo, without an effort for his safety by his numerous adherents. The cause which he advocated received a more fatal blow from the mutability of the Romans themselves, who displaced their senate, to make way for one chief magistrate, the *senator*. This officer, whose authority was at first absolute, yet, as it was held for a year, not likely to prove dangerous, was first elected by the people; but from the time of Innocent III. (1197), the popes began to claim the exercise of their alleged right of nomination, and to limit his powers. The emperor, however, continued to have a representative, a sort of prefect, in Rome, who had certainly a voice in all temporal affairs of any moment; but the popes had dexterity enough to make his appointment dependent on themselves. Thus the citizens had no privilege left, if we except one, which indeed may be said to atone for the abuse of the rest, — that of living under a mild, paternal government; for such, with exceedingly few exceptions, has been that of the Roman pontiffs. In the fourteenth century, during the residence of the popes at Avignon, when the nobles, who were without a master, disturbed the state with impunity by their private quarrels, importance was again given to republican institutions by a revolution. This was effected by Colas,

or Nicolas, di Rienzi, a man of obscure birth *, but yet enabled, through the noble constitution of the Roman Catholic church, to obtain a liberal education, and to aim, if such were his choice, at high ecclesiastical dignities. But the perusal of antiquity — a study which he pursued with more of youthful enthusiasm than of discretion — inclined him to sigh for the restoration, not merely of domestic liberty, but of Rome's ancient glory. Endowed with great eloquence, and with considerable powers of mind, he inveighed on such themes as he knew must be popular; on the sweets of liberty, present degradation, the possibility of future glory, and the vices of the great. But more than on all his declamation did he rely on the effect of a large painting, suspended in the market-place, on which Rome was represented as a vessel, without helm, pilot, or sails, ready to be engulfed in an angry sea. His object was soon gained; the populace were gradually moved; in a general rising the nobles were deprived of power, which the grateful populace transferred to him, by placing him, with the title of tribune, at the head of the new state. For a time the change was beneficial; justice was rigidly administered; the everlasting quarrels of the nobles, of whom all were banished that refused to take an oath to the new order of things, were suspended; the city and the highways were cleared of banditti. But Colas had no discretion, no true wisdom, in his character. The power which he exercised was, even in its origin, more oppressive than that which had been deposed. Prosperity turned his brain. He became capricious, tyrannical, and unjust; the scorn of his former adherents; and he displayed, in other respects, so much puerile vanity, so much weakness, that he was no longer recognised as the man who had effected so great a revolution.

* His father was a poor keeper of a wine-shop, something resembling one of our lowest pot-houses; his mother was a washerwoman. In a Protestant country, in England especially, such a man would never have been enabled to become a scholar, eligible to ecclesiastical dignities.

An open opposition to his authority was organised; the people showed no disposition to assist him; he fled, was arrested by the imperial orders, and consigned to a prison in Avignon, where he languished some time. He was at length, however, released by the pope — doubtless he engaged to abandon his former principles — and was even created senator of Rome; but his administration was odious, and in a short time he was killed by the indignant populace. We may add that the attempts which were subsequently made to shake off the authority of the popes — that, for example, of Stefano Porcari, in 1453 — were no less unsuccessful.*

II. STATE OF THE CHURCH.—The state of the ancient church has been drawn in vivid and enthusiastic colours, by writers of every religious denomination. At first, indeed, the virtues which illustrated its saints and doctors, nay, its humblest laymen, would seem to be unattainable by human nature; and unattainable they would, perhaps, have been, in the ordinary course of things. The wonders which attended the propagation of Christianity — the gift of tongues, the amazing rapidity with which the new faith was propagated by means of miracles — of an absolute control over the laws of nature, — and that, too, in opposition to a world in arms to crush it, are scarcely more extraordinary than the superhuman qualities that distinguished its professors. The fervour with which, not individuals, but millions, submitted to martyrdom in proof of their confidence in its truth, the patience with which men, who once sinned after baptism, endured for years, often for their whole life, the most humiliating as well as the most rigorous penance, were in themselves no less miraculous: they were no less the work of heaven than the

* The chief authorities for the long space of time embraced in the above paragraph are, Raynaldus, Annales Ecclesiastici; the authors of the Vitæ Pontificum; Fleury, Histoire Ecclésiastique; Giovanni Villani, Historia Universale de suoi Tempi, Sismondi, Histoire des Rép.; with the German historians, in places too numerous to be cited.

visible suspension of physical laws. The spirit, indeed which pervaded the whole church during the four or five first centuries, cannot be explained by natural reason; it escapes the subtlety of philosophy; and forces us to acknowledge that it could spring from divine influence only, — from an extraordinary manifestation of divine grace, which, except in rare and special cases, was never before manifested to the world; it was evidently the concomitant of a new dispensation, of a wondrous change in the moral government of mankind. All orders of men presented a mortifying contrast to those either of a prior or a subsequent period. The bishops were not anxious to favour princes, to possess ample revenues, which they might spend with idle ostentation: what remained beyond the bare means of subsistence they gave to the poor, loudly proclaiming, that wealth was not intended for the ministers of God's altar; that they could not possess it without peril to their souls. They looked only to their flocks, over whose conduct they incessantly watched, whose virtues they strengthened even more by their example than their preaching, whose faults they chastised with wholesome severity, not at their own pleasure, but in accordance with the canons; they were models of humility, and their title of *servi servorum Dei* was one literally just. The inferior orders of the hierarchy were no less attentive to their duties, or to the leaving of a good report among men. Their time was constantly occupied, either in the interminable service of the altar, or in visiting the sick and instructing the ignorant, — not spiritual instruction only, for connected with every church was a school, where the elements of all the sciences then known were taught, where the clergy themselves were prepared for their calling, and where the bishops, who were always chosen for superior piety and learning, regularly explained the scriptures. The laity not only submitted to a rigour of discipline which more degenerate times would regard as impracticable, but, in the conviction that the discipline was too mild, they fled to the mountains or the

forests, to pass, some the whole, some a portion of their time in austerities, contemplation and prayer; hence the hermits of the early church, who were soon succeeded by communities, subject, doubtless, to known rules long before that of St. Benedict. The obligation thus voluntarily contracted was soon made irrevocable by vows; and the hermit, anchoret, or monk*, who forsook society, was equally compelled to forsake his dearest ties, and thenceforward to renounce marriage and the other pleasures of life. But though this mode of serving God was thus austere, it was less heroic than that which prevailed in society where temptations had to be encountered,—since flight is less honourable than conflict. Both, however, are evidences enough of the amazing influence which religion held over the hearts of its professors. How long this fervour as a *general* feeling prevailed, cannot easily be ascertained; numerous instances, not merely of lukewarmness, but of hypocrisy and inward depravity, were detected in the first five centuries; they were, however, individual exceptions from the ordinary rule. From the sixth, and still more from the seventh century, we discover a great change in the church of Italy. The irruptions of the barbarians, the triumphs of the Arian Lombards, the struggles of the schismatic Greeks, would do much to impair knowledge, to embitter rival animosity, to replunge the minds of men into the state of darkness and cruelty which existed prior to the promulgation of Christianity. The better spirits, indeed, were glad to escape into the cloister from the disasters of the times, but even here they encountered an evil no less serious: the very austerities which were practised were regarded as stores of merit, as compensating for the absence of the active virtues, and even of internal sentiment. Superstition, by shedding its baneful influence over every thing,—by teaching that the worship of relics and images was to be rewarded like the worship of the

* The hermit was a solitary, altogether removed from human intercourse; the anchoret dwelt in a cell, outside a community; the monk lived in community.

Great Unseen, by inculcating a belief in revelations, apparitions of the dead and of demons, and in puerile miracles, — deformed the whole face of religious society. It is perfectly marvellous to see with what rapidity imposture on the side of the few, childish credulity on that of the many, were propagated from the sixth century downwards. Not even the mind of pope St. Gregory, denominated the Great, nor that of one truly great, the venerable Bede, nor that of the wise Alcuin, were above this miserable credulity: they relate miracles the most childish, with a gravity somewhat more ludicrous than edifying. It may be justly contended, as Tiraboschi in his defence of Gregory has done, that to expect that men should rise superior to the age, would show little knowledge of human nature, little philosophy. We willingly allow the abbate and others — Dr. Lingard among the rest, — the benefit of the concession. We may go even farther, and admit that as miracles signalised the propagation of the gospel, and were believed, in St. Gregory's days, to be still in operation as one of the characters of the true church, there was nothing absolutely irrational in acknowledging some of them: nay, even in the nineteenth century, we, at least, will not be so rash as to say that none were performed long after the apostles and their disciples were gone to their reward. But, surely, miracles are as subject as any other class of events to the empire of criticism: that they are more so, — that to them should be applied the most searching tests, — is now admitted by the Roman Catholics themselves.* If suspension or violation of the laws of nature be effected by infinite power, it must be for some purpose of infinite wisdom; and that purpose must be evident, or the manifestation is useless. If a reputed miracle be in itself trivial or puerile, if no good end have been accomplished by it,

* Dieu est tout-puissant, et les Saints ont un grand credit auprès de lui; ces sont des verités qu'aucun Catholique ne conteste: donc, je dois croire tous les miracles qui ont été attribués à l'intercession des Saints: — la consequence n'est pas bonne. Il faut en examiner les preuves; et d'autant plus exactement que ces faits sont plus incroyables et plus importants.— *Fleury, Hist.* xiii. 15.

it must be rejected with contempt. The test is infallible, and so obvious, that we may wonder how St. Gregory and others, even in that age, could overlook it. The only purpose that could be discovered — alas, too easily! — was the enriching of some particular edifice or shrine; as a natural consequence of this reputation was the custom of pilgrimage. Originally these were useful: the man who prayed amidst the scenes where Christ taught and suffered, would find his faith strengthened, his fervour increased; and we can understand why journeys to the Holy Land were so frequent in the early ages of the church. But when such journeys were undertaken to the relics and shrines of saints, which were believed to possess some mysterious inherent virtue, they were worse than useless: "there was," says the judicious Fleury, "more to be lost than gained by them." Bishops quitted their charges, clergymen their flocks, monks and nuns their convents, the laity their most important duties, to run after these strange novelties. Hence the relaxation of discipline, especially when, as was generally the case, the ancient canonical penance of standing for years during service outside the door of a church, of abstaining from the comforts of life, or of imprisonment, was exchanged for a journey, where the depraved would often travel together and contaminate the less criminal. Other superstitions were soon engrafted on this fruitful stock. Divination by the saints, of which even St. Gregory of Tours previously produces examples; ordeals by fire, water, single combat, &c. the issue of which was frequently regarded as the judgment of God, grew so numerous as to form a recognised code. Manners were not better than opinions. As a consequence of the feudal system, bishops and priests became hunters and warriors. The rearing of horses, dogs, and hawks, absorbed the substance which should have gone to the poor; the time wasted in these pursuits, and in martial exercise — a necessary obligation on the holders of fiefs, — left none for the instruction of

the ignorant, or the donations of charity, and little even for the rites of worship. Then, in virtue of their fiefs, or of their temporal dominations, the bishops were constrained to sit in the councils of their sovereigns, where they soon learned in perfection the arts of a courtier: they formed, in fact, a prominent part in every festive entertainment, and were the favourite escort of princes. How different this state of things from that which prevailed in the ancient church, when Synesius and Gelasius maintained that, though under the old law the temporal and spiritual powers had been sometimes combined, God, knowing the infirmity of human nature, had for ever dissevered the two characters! The same truth was subsequently enforced by Gregory III. and still more eloquently by Nicolas I.; but the mischief went on increasing, until councils, and, in a greater degree, public opinion arrested its progress. Flowing from this twofold source—from this spiritual and temporal union of powers—arose the monstrous pretensions which, during the middle ages, bishops advanced over sovereigns, and popes over emperors: hence the tremendous struggle between the two hostile parties, in which each aimed at domination over the other: hence the war of the investitures, which, during so long a period, agitated all Europe. The riches inseparable from lucrative fiefs, or unalienable domains, caused no less injury to the church: they were the attractions which alone drew men of family, often lords and princes, to the altar. To increase them, the bed of the dying rich man was beset, his conscience terrified into a considerable bequest; for he was taught to believe that the splendour of the church was inseparable from the prosperity of religion: and the prince or noble who was in health, was often persuaded to renounce the world, to retire into he cloister, and to institute some particular church or monastery his heir. That the powerful and the great should be anxious to obtain the management of those useful resources; that where force or intrigue failed, they should have recourse to bribes, was

to be expected; and, as simony will be practised by none except the corrupt, the base, the dishonest, the perjured, the mischief done to religion by the admission of such persons into its bosom, no mind can calculate. The inevitable effect was, however, perceptible enough in the manners of the laity, who, deprived at once of instruction and good example, relapsed into a frightful state of immorality. The clergy soon caught the contagion which they had been the chief means of propagating: their ignorance no less than their vices, appear at every page in the acts of councils. But in the midst of evil there is good; there were many bishops who forsook the court for their churches; many priests who wasted their lives in the service of their flocks, and whose morals were pure as their labours were arduous; many of the laity, female as well as male, who forsook the pleasures, the vices, the temptations of the world, to prepare, amidst the silence and regularity of the cloister, for another and a better.*

But the internal state of the Italian church will be best understood from the lives of a few of its more distinguished saints, or of those especially whose labours have exercised any considerable influence over its discipline.

480 to 543. Of these, the first, both in the order of time and in reputation, is *St. Benedict*, the patriarch of monks †, the great light of the western church, the founder of the order which bears his name. This remarkable man, who was born in 480, was a native of Nurcia, a city at the foot of the Apennines, a few leagues east of Spoleto ‡, and sprung from noble parents, an advantage which Yepes, the Benedictine historian, in the true spirit of a

* The preceding paragraph is found in Baronius's Annales Ecclesiasticæ, tom. i. to xii. with the notes of Pagi; the acts of numerous councils, in the collection of Lobbæus; in Ruinart, Acta Primorum Martyrum, tom. i.—iv.; in Tiraboschi, Storia della Letteratura Italiana, tom. iii.; Fleury, Histoire Ecclésiastique, tom. i.—xv.; the numerous epistles in the Bibliotheca Patrum Latinorum; Mabillon, Acta Sanctorum Ordinis Sancti Benedicti; in the Bollandists, Acta Sanctorum; in Yepes, Cronica General de la Orden de San Benito; in Sanctus Gregorius Magnus, Dialogi, and many others, in places too numerous to be cited.

† Patriarca de los Religiosos. — *Yepes.*

‡ Norcia, Nursia, petite ville d'Italie dans l'Ombrie, au duché de Spolete.—*Martiniere, Grand Dictionnaire Géographique*, ad verbum.

Spaniard, is careful to exaggerate. At an early age, Benedict, who, says St. Gregory the Great, was blessed alike in name and grace, was sent to Rome to pursue his studies; to learn *Latin*, observes Yepes, with wonderful simplicity, as if at that time any other language were there spoken. But the youth, though of quick parts, was not destined to make much progress in literature; the vices of the world, observes his holy biographer, forced him to abandon Rome, to seek God in retirement. One thing is certain, that he learned nothing, and that he left Rome about as wise as he entered it.* He was followed by his nurse, who had soon the pleasure of seeing him perform a miracle, for by his prayers, says St. Gregory, he restored — a sick man? — no, a capisterium, or a kind of sieve used to separate the grain from the rubbish †, which through her carelessness had been broken. Secretly leaving his nurse, Benedict next hastened to the solitude of Sublacus, a sequestered region about forty miles from Rome, lying at the source of the Anio, where finding a narrow cavern on the margin of the lake which gives rise to that river, he took up his abode in it. One man only, and that a monk of a neighbouring house, knew of his intention, gave him the habit, and from time to time carried him provisions. As there was no direct path from the cell of Romanus to the cavern, which lay at the bottom of a high precipice, the benevolent monk, on reaching the summit, let the food descend by a long cord, and that the hermit might know when it arrived, a little bell was fastened to the same extremity. One day, however, the devil threw a stone at

* Despectis itaque litterarum studiis, — recessit scienter nesciens, et sapienter indoctus.—*S. Gregorius.*

How could an inhabitant of Nurcia be expected to learn any thing in a city which, in later times, insisted that its four magistrates (li quatri illiterati) should not be able either to read or write? Martiniere seems to have hit (though unconsciously) the reason: "On nourrit dans le territoire de Norcia *une quantité prodigieuse de* COCHONS, et ils sont presque tous noirs." Learning and piggeries — testes Hiberniæ rustici, et in ecclesiâ Anglicanâ non pauci clerici — do not form the most harmonious combination. Benedict's example has not wanted imitators: "á cuya imitacion," says Yepes, "desde entonces innumerables hombres — han cortade el hilo á sus estudios.

† Semen quod exteritur, *capisterio* expurgatur. — *Columella*, lib. ii. cap. 9.

the bell, and broke it; but Romanus still attended with the bread, until he was sent by his superior into Gaul. The recluse, whose thoughts never deigned to dwell on such terrestrial objects as food, would certainly have died in his beatific contemplation, had not one day a priest, divinely warned *, hastened to his cell, and, by telling him that it was Easter Sunday, forced him to break his fast. Near this cave he was one day found by some shepherds, who, naturally judging from his clothing of skins that he must be some wild beast, were preparing to seize him, when, discovering that he was a servant of God, they reverenced him, and thenceforward supplied him plentifully with provisions. From this period, too, his solitude was visited by numbers who flocked to hear his instructions; many like him forsook the world, and took up their abodes in the neighbouring mountains. Hitherto we have heard nothing of the temptations with which all saints are sure to be assailed; but we now read that one day — the cause was, doubtless, the generous supply of food which he had received, for such a feeling does not well agree with bread and water — he was immoderately tempted by the image of a woman, who had probably been one of his visitants. So strong, indeed, was the impulse, that he was about to go in search of her †, but, his better angel prevailing, he threw himself among some bushes, and so pricked himself, that with the flowing blood the desire left him — we are told, for ever. His fame was now so well established, that the monks of a monastery, who had lost their abbot, besought him to undertake the vacant office; and, though he refused for a time, on the ground that his manners and theirs could never harmonise, he at length consented. The sequel showed that

* The Lord appeared in a vision to the priest, who was about to eat: "Canst thou stuff thyself with dainties while my servant in such a place is dying of hunger? (Tu tibi delicias præparas, et servus meus illo in loco fame emaciatur.)"

† "Tantoque igne servi Dei animum in specie illius accendit, ut, dum in ejus pectore amoris flamma vim caperet, etiam pene deserere eremum, voluptate victus deliberaret."—*St. Greg.* Yepes is more poetical and striking: "La bateria de pensamientos fue con tanto impetu, que como carbones encendidos con viento, le yvan pegando fuego al corazon."

his first intention was the more prudent; for in a short time the severity which he infused into the discipline of the house was so galling, that the monks resolved to be rid of him. With this view they put poison into his cup, but when, according to custom, it was held for him to bless, and to sign with the cross, wonderful to relate, it suddenly fell to pieces! The only punishment which he inflicted on them was mildly to reproach them with their crime, and to pray that God would pardon them for it; but fearing that the attempt might be repeated, and not being willing to die until he had laboured more in his Master's service, he returned to his cavern. But, henceforth, solitude was not to be his lot; his disciples, to say nothing of his power, increased so much, and he was so much enriched by the offerings of the devout, that he successively founded twelve monasteries, all near to each other, in each of which he placed as many monks, subject to a superior. In one of these he resided, and, according to the credulous St. Gregory, performed some notable miracles, which we shall not waste time in repeating. His fame procured him the envy of a priest, a great pretender to sanctity, who dwelt near one of his houses, and who, resolving through jealousy to remove one by whom he was eclipsed, sent a poisoned loaf of bread: the design, however, was miraculously perceived, but Benedict, instead of punishing, concealed the crime. But the priest was not disheartened; in conjunction with his ally, the devil, he sent seven young girls, half-naked, into the garden of the monastery where the saint resided, not so much with the view of tempting Benedict, as the young novices who were under his care. The indecent gestures of these girls so hurt the holy man, that he resolved to leave the place, a resolution in which he was confirmed by a vision that commanded him to proceed to Monte Casino. The true reason of his departure, no doubt, was the intrigues of his novices with the damsels of the neighbourhood. On reaching the mountain to which he had been divinely conducted, he found, towards the summit, an

ancient temple of Apollo*, surrounded with consecrated woods. He broke the idol, overturned the altar, cut down the trees, and built two oratories, one to St. Martin, the other to St. John, where he prayed, and began to instruct the Pagan inhabitants. As before, people resorted to the place in such numbers, that he was soon able (in 529) to erect the far-famed monastery of Monte-Casino, where he ever afterwards abode. His fame, however, was spread through Italy: it reached the ears of Totila, king of the Lombards †, who honoured him by a visit, and whom he exhorted to mercy. Thus he lived, instructing the ignorant, reclaiming the vicious, relieving the necessitous, constant in example, and in every work of mercy, unto his end. Unfortunately for his real reputation, his noble acts have been associated with so many miraculous inventions, that we are provoked to suspect even what is true. Let us not, however, do injustice to one of the greatest benefactors of his species; for such he must be whose life is devoted to the spiritual welfare of others. With much of the false enthusiasm, of the ascetic fanaticism of the age, he had the higher virtues of humanity, — of humanity as elevated and purified by divine grace. In the manner of the times, and peculiarly so of his earliest biographer, he is said to have seen the recently departed spirit of his sister Santa Scholastica ascend, like a dove, to heaven, and shortly afterwards to have predicted his own death. When he perceived his hour approaching, he caused himself to be carried from his cell into the church, where, after receiving the holy sacraments, he surrendered his soul to God, March 21st, 543, in the sixty-third year of his age. If superstition

* This is a remarkable testimony, by a writer almost contemporary, to the fact, that, even in Italy, idolatry was not extinct in the sixth century. Mabillon (Annales, lib. ii. cap. 1.) questions the fact, but on no good grounds.

† Of course, Gregory must have a miracle for so important an occasion. Wishing to prove the supernatural powers of the saint, Totila clothed one of his nobles in royal apparel, and ordered him to proceed to the monastery; but Benedict did not suffer him to approach before he exclaimed, "Quit these garments; they do not belong to thee!" Totila now hastened in propriâ personâ to beg pardon for thus attempting to impose on a saint, who prophesied his own fate and that of Rome.—*St. Greg. Dialogi*, lib. ii. cap. 3.

ascribed to him so many miracles during his life, they would be inevitably multiplied after his death. We accordingly find that an ample volume would scarcely contain those which were wrought by his relics or his intercession. How these relics were transported to Fleury on the Loire, a full century after his death, and there made to perform the most astounding things, may be seen in the Acta Sanctorum of Bollandus; but the mortal remains of the saint certainly never left Monte-Casino, in the ruins of which they were buried when that monastery was utterly destroyed by the Lombards, about forty years after his death. Early in the eighth century, however, it was restored to more than its former splendour. Subsequently the place was more than once consumed by the Saracens, by the Normans, by the emperor Frederick II.; but, owing to the zeal of the faithful, the munificence of sovereigns, and the encouragement of popes, it always arose in renewed splendour from its disasters.*

But St. Benedict is best known for the famous rule 529.
which he composed immediately after the foundation of the monastery on Monte Casino, and which, from that time to the present, has been the universal guide of the Latin monks. There were regulations, indeed, for the government of religion, before his time, — that of St. Basil in the east, and that of St. Augustine in the west, were received by several communities, — but, in the

* Sanctus Gregorius Magnus, Dialogorum lib. i. cap. 1—6. Anastasius Bibliothecarius, De Vitis Pontificum (in Vita Gregorii II.) Leo Ostiensis et Petrus Diaconus, Chronica Sacri Monasterii Casinensis, p. 151, &c. Camillus Peregrinus, Hist. Princip. Longob, et Series Abbatum Casinens. p. 162, &c. Petrus Diaconus, De Viris Illustribus Cassin. p. 1—80., necnon Anonymus Vitæ quatuor Priorum Abbatum Casin. p. 199, &c. Bollandistæ, Acta Sanctorum Martis xxi. Yepes, Cronica General de la Orden de San Benito, tom. i. vol. 1—130. Mabillon, Annales, tom. i. Adalbertus, Monachus Floriacensis, Historia Translationis SS. Benedicti et Scholasticæ in Galliam, p. 302, &c. Adrevaldus, Monachus ejusdem Mon. Miracula S. Benedicti, p. 306, &c. Aimonus Floriacensis, Historia Francorum, lib. ii. cap. 1—4. et lib. iii. cap. 1—6. Baronius, Annales Ecclesiasticæ, an. 529—543. Cum multis aliis.

If the maxim of Ambrosio de Morales be good, — that what one saint writes of another saint ought most confidently to be received — what shall we say of St. Romuald's life by St. Gregory? or of St. Dominic's by St. Peter Damian? or of St. Francis's by St. Buonaventura? Yet Ambrosio was a monument of erudition.

Latin church at least, the greater number were governed by particular statutes of their own formation. Thus the rule and habit assumed by St. Benedict himself, in his youth, were those of St. Theodatus. It is to the glory of this celebrated abbot, that he composed a rule that, notwithstanding the subsequent reforms made in it by St. Bernard and others, and the numerous ramifications into which the great order of St. Benedict has diverged, each under modified statutes and a distinct name, has preserved its influence to our own days. That rule, which is divided into seventy-three chapters, minutely prescribes the duties of the brethren, from the abbot to the pastor and labourers; their admission, discipline, prayers, lessons, vigils, meat, sleep, vestments, labour; in short, every action of their lives. The abbot, the great conservator of discipline, was to be elected by the monks from among themselves, regard being had to merit only; and he was to be ordained by the bishop of the diocese, or by other abbots. He could do nothing without the advice of his brothers; in minor cases he was compelled to consult the elders only; in important ones, to assemble the whole body in full chapter. Under him was sometimes a prior (præpositus), but more usually several deans (decani), each appointed to watch over ten brethren. Then there were officers over the great departments of monastic economy: there was one to exercise hospitality, one to watch over the sick, one to take charge of provisions, one to inspect the revenues and expenditure, and a porter at the gate to receive strangers. Originally these were all laymen, except one or two who were chosen by the abbot, to be ordained by the diocesan; but as priests themselves were allowed to renounce the world, and when in the cloister to retain their character, most communities had many in holy orders, though subject, like the rest, to the observance of the rule. To try the motives, the patience, and consequently the vocation of the novices, none were admitted until they had stood four or five days, as postulants, at the gate,

and experienced many rebuffs; and when they were received, first into the strangers', next into the noviciate apartments, the difficulties of the state which they wished to embrace, — its labours, fasts, vigils, and mean fare, — were drawn in the most striking colours. If they persisted, at the end of two months the rule was read to them, a second time at the end of eight, and a third at the close of the year, when they were allowed to profess. That profession was simple: the novice, standing at the altar, in presence of the whole brotherhood, promised constancy in his new calling, a conversion of manners, and obedience to the rule and his superiors. His engagement to that effect he subscribed, or, if unable to write, another subscribed it for him, he previously making the sign of cross; and the instrument thus signed, he laid on the altar, repeating, from Psalm cxviii., "*Suscipe me, Domine, secundum eloquium Tuum, et vivam; et non confundas me ab expectatione meâ!*" The verse was thrice repeated by the assembled brotherhood, who added, "*Gloria Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto!*" The newly professed then prostrated himself at the feet of each monk in succession, beseeching each to pray for him; and, as he was raised by each, he received the kiss of peace. He was next invested with the habit of the order, still standing before the altar. As from this day forward he could possess nothing in his own right, not even power over his own body or actions, which became as much pieces of mechanism as his breviary or his instruments of husbandry, he, at the same time, either distributed all the substance he had among the poor, or gave it to the community which received him. The worst part of the system was, that parents could offer their children in their earliest infancy. The duties of the monks may be divided into, first, those of religion, and, secondly, those of discipline.—I. Omitting the commandments of the decalogue, which, with two exceptions, — that which relates to parents, since human obligations were at an end; and that which regards "images,"

which the church was resolved, in defiance of divine injunction, pertinaciously to retain, — are enforced with rigour, there are many founded on the New Testament. To honour all men, to do as we would be done by, to deny ourselves so as to follow Christ, *to discipline the body*; not to follow pleasures; to love fasting, to fill the poor with joy, to clothe the naked, to visit the sick, to bury the dead, to rejoice in tribulation, to console the afflicted, to keep aloof from the world, to hold the love of Christ beyond every other tie; not to be angry, not to be deceitful, not to neglect charity, not to swear; to utter the truth always; not to return evil for evil; to suffer injury with patience, to love one's enemies, to bless those who curse us, to suffer persecution for righteousness' sake; not to be proud, nor a wine-bibber, nor a glutton, nor a sluggard, not to murmur or to slander; to trust in God; to ascribe whatever is good in ourselves, not to our own merits, but to God, — always remembering, however, to take credit to ourselves for any evil we may do; to feel the last judgment, to dread hell, to have death daily before our eyes, to long with a spiritual lust for eternal life*, to watch our actions every hour of our lives, to feel that God is every where, to open our evil thoughts unto Christ and to some spiritual elder, to keep one's tongue from evil speaking, to refrain from much speaking; not to jest, not to love laughter; to hear with pleasure holy reading, to be frequent in prayer, to confess past sins with tears and groans; not to fulfil the desires of the flesh, but to hate our own will; to obey the precepts of the abbot in all things; not to aim at being thought holy, but to be really such; to fulfil daily God's commands, to love chastity, to hate nobody; to avoid jealousy, envy, contention, and pride; to reverence the old, to love the young, to pray for our enemies with the love of Christ; not to let the sun descend on our strife, never to despair of God's mercy, — are all duties which the novice contracted at

* "Vitam æternam omni concupiscentia spirituali desiderare."—The monks could more readily comprehend the force of the injunction than we.

his profession. But on those which are peculiarly monastic, obedience, silence, and humility, the author of the rule is more diffuse and earnest: the last of the three is so amplified as to embrace half the other obligations of the state.—II. In winter, viz. from the first day of November to Easter, the monks are enjoined to rise at the eighth hour of the night, viz. at two in the morning, to join in the nocturnal office, or vigils, which are now called matins. The time which remained from vigils to matins, which were celebrated at sunrise, and which are now called lauds, was to be employed in learning the psalms, in holy reading or meditation. In summer, no hour for vigils was appointed, but it was expected that this service should be performed before daylight, and the matins at break of day. A description of the service may do more than gratify a mere curiosity: — The vigil service commenced with *Deus, in adjutorium meum intende! Domine, ad adjuvandum me festina!* next, *Domine, labia mea aperies, et os meum enuntiabit laudem tuam,* was thrice repeated. It was followed by the third psalm, the *Gloria Patri,* the ninety-fourth psalm, and the hymn of St. Ambrose. The necessity of committing the psalms to memory will appear, when we read, that, at the vigil service, twelve of the canticles were to be chaunted immediately after the hymn of St. Ambrose. On finishing six, however, the monks were allowed to sit, and, after the Benedicite by the abbot, made to read, each in turn, three lessons, at the end of each all joining in a response, and rising at the *Gloria Patri,* in reverence to the Trinity. Then came the six remaining psalms, followed by a lesson from the New Testament, and the *Kyrie Eleison.* On Sunday this vigil service, ample as it seems, was deemed insufficient. After the *Deus in Adjutorium* and six psalms, came four lessons and four responses, after the last all rising to chaunt the *Gloria:* next came six psalms with the antiphony, and four other lessons with the responses; then three canticles from the pro-

phets, the *Hallelujah*, the *Deus in Adjutorium*, and the *Benedicite*. Four lessons more from the New Testament, with their responses, were followed by the *Te Deum*, which the abbot commenced; and the same dignitary read the gospel, all standing devoutly, and began to chaunt *Te laus decet*. The service ended with the benediction by the abbot, but only to commence with matins. On Sunday, this second service commenced with the sixty-sixth psalm, then the fiftieth, with the Hallelujah: next came the one hundred and seventeenth, and the sixty-second, followed by the Benedicite, the lauds, a lesson from the Apocalypse, the response, the hymn of St. Ambrose, an article from the gospel, and the *Kyrie eleison*, which concluded the service. On other days, the matins varied according to the feria and day of the week. But the services, besides the vigils, were seven, in conformity with the practice of the psalmist, *Septies in die laudem tibi dixi*. At primes, tierce, sexts, nones, vespers, and complins, which, as the names import, were celebrated at the first, third, sixth, and ninth hours, at sunset, and before retiring to rest,—hours corresponding to six, nine, twelve, three, half past four, and about six o'clock, and which are called the diurnal hours,—a certain number of psalms, canticles, and responses were chaunted, in such manner, that the whole psalter was read once a week. This, says St. Benedict, is as little as we can do, considering that our forefathers read it wholly every day. At matins there was also mental prayer, which continued for some time. Thus there were four hours of uninterrupted spiritual exercise, while the rest of the world was buried in sleep. After matins, in summer, came four hours of labour, from six to ten o'clock, either in the fields, or at some mechanical employment; then came reading, followed by sexts at twelve o'clock, or mid-day, when the brethren dined: after dinner meditation during about one hour; and, though it was now only half past one, the nones, which should have been celebrated at three, were now repeated, that the

monks might again go out to labour, until half past four, when they returned to vespers, which consisted of psalms, the *Pater*, and the *Benedicite*. If the brethren during their labours were near the monastery, they repaired to the oratory at the canonical hours; if they were distant, they knelt in the fields to repeat certain prayers. In winter, after the tierce, which was said an hour earlier — at eight o'clock, — the monks went to their agricultural labours; and, with the exception of the sexts, which, if near, they attended at twelve, laboured until nones, or three o'clock, when they dined. The meals were two only, dinner and supper; and, at both, flesh meat was prohibited: nor could the cooking be much superior to the materials, since every monk was obliged to fill the office in his turn for one week. At each meal some brother read aloud from the Scriptures the exposition of the fathers, or any other edifying book. As to the vestments, each monk had two tunics, two cowls, and a scapulary, — one probably for the night, the other for the day. Each had a separate bed; ten or twenty slept in the same dormitory, which throughout the night was lighted by a lamp, and superintended by one of the deans, who was always an aged man. After confession, no word was allowed to be spoken by any of the brethren, but one of the number usually read aloud; mental prayer concluded the arduous service of the day, a service which appears too much for human nature. We may add, that no monk was allowed to receive letters or presents without the superior's permission; that if the necessary business of the community led him outside the walls, he first commended himself to the prayers of the rest, and on his return passed some time prostrated at the foot of the cross, to expiate or to recover from the distraction of which he might have been guilty; and that he were not allowed to mention any report, any news, any transaction, which he had heard or seen in the world. If he disobeyed his superiors, or disregarded

the provisions of his rank, he was twice privately admonished; if a third time, he was publicly reprimanded; if a fourth, he was excommunicated, whipped, and made to fast; and if, after remaining some time separated from the faithful, he showed no sign of contrition, he was expelled from the house, lest his example should vitiate others. In subsequent times, other and more terrific punishments were adopted, — from temporary imprisonment to the tremendous vade-in-pace.*

540 to 640. Nearly contemporary with St. Benedict was his biographer, the famous pontiff *St. Gregory the Great*, who was born at Rome in 540, of parents truly patrician. In his early years he doubtless exhibited a great desire for learning, in which he made probably as much progress as any man of his age; but, though, in consequence of his birth and family influence, he filled the office of prefect, or perhaps prætor, of Rome, his serious thoughts rested in the cloister. On the death of his father, his desire to renounce the world became resistless. With his paternal inheritance he first founded six monasteries in Sicily, and another under the advocation of St. Andrew, in his own house at Rome. In this latter house he professed in 576, according to the rule of St. Benedict †, and he soon became its abbot. Here he resumed his studies with extraordinary ardour, but they were such only as agreed with his present state, — the Scriptures, the fathers, and the lives of saints. His intention of visiting England in person, to spread the knowledge of the Gospel among the pagan Saxons; how he was compelled to abandon the charge, through the Romans, who would not allow him to depart; and how, after his elevation to the chair of St. Peter, he despatched St. Augustine and others on the same holy errand, are too well known to be repeated. The fame which he

* Sanctissimi Patris Benedicti Regula, cap. 1—73. (apud Yepes, Cronica General de l'Orden de San Benito, tom. i. Appendix). A long but inadequate analysis of this famous rule is given by Fleury, Hist. Eccles. tom. vii. lib. 32.

† This fact has been proved by Yepes (Cron. 1—300, &c.), and still more fully by Mabillon (Annales Bened. tom i. Appendix).

enjoyed he well merited, by the purity of his life, by his services as deacon, in his capacity as nuncio to the imperial court of Constantinople, and by his writings. It is, however, certain that he was averse to the bustle of the world, and consequently to dignities. That he was forced to undertake the office of abbot and the mission to Constantinople, appears from his conversations in that city with the Spanish bishop St. Leander, to whom he lamented, in feeling terms, his forcible withdrawal from his monastery, and asserted with less dignity than became his station, that he was never happy except when with his brother monks. While at the Greek court he had commenced his homilies on the book of Job, which he divided into thirty-five books, and which the church has always called his *morals*. On his return, he applied himself with new ardour to his peaceful devotions and studies in his favourite monastery; and his biographer, Giovanni the deacon, who wrote his life in the ninth century, does not forget to tell us that he was the instrument or subject of several miracles. That among other wondrous things, he one day relieved an angel under the disguise of a sailor, to whom he gave not only all the money he had in his monastery, but a piece of plate which had belonged to his mother; that this angel, after his elevation to the pontificate, visited him, telling him that that elevation was the reward of so charitable an act, is gravely related by the said deacon, and, of course, as gravely reported by Yepes and the Bollandists. As superstition does not so much create, as enlarge what already exists, its voice alone would place St. Gregory among the most beneficent of men. We have, however, other and better evidence, to prove his unwearied philanthropy. Adjoining his monastery, he maintained a house of entertainment for the poor and for pilgrims; every day he dined twelve poor strangers at his own table; in fact, his liberalities were so excessive, as to exhaust his ample resources. As pope, his conduct appears to have been as excellent as when he was abbot. In

these ages, indeed, the successors of St. Peter were all men of great zeal, piety, and moral worth; but, in the exercise of the active virtues, he equalled all who preceded or have followed him. His numerous epistles breathe the most fervent devotion towards God, the utmost zeal for the church, the warmest charity towards mankind. In one to the patrician Narses, at the court of his imperial master, the emperor Maurice, he complains of the distractions which his numerous secular duties have entailed upon him; that they have removed him from the face of God. In another, he tenderly reproaches the patriarch of Antioch, Anastasius, for rejoicing at his election, since it entailed on him a burden which weighed him to the earth, and prevented him from raising his whole thoughts to heaven. To a third friend he writes, "Weep, if you love me! for my new occupations are so many, that they almost separate me from the face of God." In a fourth, he feelingly describes his anxiety for his flock; and well might he feel anxious, for the Lombard heretics were threatening the ruin of Rome. In a fifth, to the dearest of his friends, St. Leander, he compares the church to a ship, so shattered by the tempest that he was unable to conduct it into port. That these were no hypocritical sentiments appears from his famous pastoral, in which he examines the great questions of episcopal vocation, qualification, and duties; qualifications which he estimates so high, and duties which he makes so numerous, that he might well, in the consciousness of his own defects, seek to escape the office. But posterity will always agree that no man better deserved it. In his laws for the reformation of manners he showed great judgment; but not so much in what is called the reformation of the church service, into which he appears to have introduced more pomp than became it: he made it too much of a mummery, at once glittering and cold. For one innovation, however, he may be praised, that of the chanting which bears his name: for this purpose he established a choir, and

place of singing, at Rome, which was in being three hundred years afterwards: it became so celebrated throughout Christendom, that kings and emperors were anxious to obtain singing boys for their private chapels, and bishops wanted them for their cathedrals. The few last years of his life were chiefly passed on a sick-bed; but he had wisdom enough to turn his bodily sufferings to a proper account. He died in 604, lamented by all Christendom. Of the miracles with which superstition has invested alike his life and relics we shall say nothing; but his literary works must not be dismissed without notice. Of them there is an excellent edition by that most learned body, the monks of the congregation of St. Maur.* They are all distinguished, rather for their piety and their usefulness, than for either learning or judgment: in truth they were not intended for the learned, but for the common people, to whom most of his homilies — for he was a regular preacher — were delivered by himself from the pulpit. This fact alone is sufficient to disarm criticism, in regard to the chief portion of his works, his Homilies and Annals. His pastoral, as we before observed, shows that he had an enlightened view of his duties, as a Christian bishop; his epistles and synodal letters often show both an intimate acquaintance with the fathers and an acute mind; and the same remark may be applied to his minor productions. But his Dialogues on the Life and Miracles of St. Benedict and other saints are a mass of puerilities. For this work he has been assailed by German, French, and English writers — by Catholics no less than by Protestants — with well-merited severity; nor can all the eloquence of the archbishop Gradenigo, or all the learning of the monks of St. Maur, or all the learning and eloquence

* S. Gregorii Magni Papæ I. Opera Omnia, studio et labore Monachorum Ordinis Sancti Benedicti, 4 vols. fol. Paris, 1705. It is a fact that the monks of St. Maur alone have done more for literature than the two English universities did, in their best days. Neither they nor the chapters of our cathedrals, as *bodies*, — however honourably individuals may distinguish themselves — do absolutely any thing to supply, in this respect, the place of the monastic orders.

combined of the abbate Tiraboschi, vindicate him from the charge of childish credulity. His virtues, however, well entitle him to the epithet of Great. *

952 to 1027. It is a curious but well-known fact, that during the middle ages the Italian church has produced fewer saints than any other in Christian Europe; it has also been more free from superstition, perhaps, too, from real piety, for such is the constitution of human nature, that the latter has in most cases been allayed by the former. From St. Gregory the Great to St. Romuald, founder of the order of Camaldula, that is during three centuries and a half, Italy can boast of few whose virtues were deemed worthy of canonization, certainly of none, except, perhaps, St. Athanasius of Naples, worthy of our passing notice. St. Romuald was a native of Ravenna, and born about the middle of the tenth century. As he was descended from the ancient chiefs of the place, and had enough of this world's substance, he often abandoned himself, says St. Peter Damian, his contemporary biographer, to the lusts of the flesh; yet not so as wholly to forfeit God's favour, since, even in his diversions at the chace, when he perceived a retired fruitful spot, he could not avoid exclaiming, "what a delightful situation this for a hermit!" nor avoid wishing that the retreat were his. † A feud between his

* Joannes Diaconus, Vita Gregorii Magni, passim, Anastasius Bibliothecarius, De Vitis Pontificum (in Vita Greg. I.) Sanctus Gregorius Turonensis, Historia Eccles. Francorum, passim. Sanctus Gregorius Magnus, Epistolæ ad Sanctum Leandrum aliosque, lib. i. necnon Dialogi, lib i. Baronius, Annales Ecclesiastici, an. 590—604. Fleury, Histoire Ecclésiastique, tom. vii. lib. 34. et tom. viii. lib. 35. et 36. Yepes, Coronica General de la Orden de San Benito, tom. i. centuria i. Bollandistæ, Acta Sanctorum, Martii xii. The two last are sure to stuff in all the miracles they can scrape together. Bayle, Dictionnaire Philosophique, art. Gregoire I. Mabillon, Annales Ordinis S. Benedicti, tom. i. p. 606, &c. Tiraboschi, Storia della Letteratura Italiana, tom. iii. lib. 2. cap. 2. c. 2—15. Le quali cose (his virtues and actions), says this learned author, with great truth and zeal, checche ne dicano i protestanti, ci monstrano ch' egli era uom culto e di animo grande, e di non ordinaria penetrazione: questa, io dico, e tante altre gloriose imprese del suo pontificato, ne han renduto il nome immortale, e sempre ne renderan la memoria venerabile e cara a tutti coloro che del vero merito son saggi ed imparziali conoscitori.—*Storia*, tom iii. p 154.

† The simple unadorned words of St. Peter Damian are beautifully expanded by Yepes: — "Se dexó llevar de sus malas inclinaciones, y vino á hacer algunas offensas contra nuestro Seflor; pero como in divina Magestad le mirava con ojos de padre, y sabio lo mucho que adelante le avia de servir, le dava algunas sofrenadas, y le ambiava buenas inspiraciones, para que

father and a relation, in which he was compelled to take part, and in which that relative was killed by his father's hand — no unimportant illustration this of the manners of the times! — filled him with so much remorse that he retired to the monastery of St. Apollinarius, near Ravenna, where he made his profession. His conversion is said by his biographer to have been hastened by the apparition of that saint, as he one night watched and prayed in the church of the monastery; St. Apollinarius lowly rising from a tomb under the altar, clad in priestly attire, filling the edifice with celestial light, and, after incensing the altar, silently disappearing. The appearance of something is probably true enough,—Romuald being one whose riches would have made him a welcome inmate in any cloister, and to obtain whom such arts would not be spared. In that of Classe, however, he did not long remain. Some of the relaxed brethren he is said to have reproved with so much severity that they resolved to kill him; but, being warned of his danger, he obtained permission to leave the house, to place himself under the instructions of Marino, a pious hermit, who resided in the state of Venice. As Marino not only lived on a small piece of bread and a few grapes daily, but repeated the whole psalter every twenty-four hours, he was reputed a model of sanctity. It appears, however, either that he was impatient in temper, or that Romuald, who had not yet learned to read, was very dull; for he so often struck his disciple on the left side of the head, with a staff, that the latter, with great mildness, begged him in future to strike on the right, "because," added the sufferer, "I have almost lost the sense of hearing on the left." Both master and disciple, how-

no se arrogasse del todo, y se despeñasse. Particularmente le favorecia con santos pensamientos quando se emboscava diferentes vezes entre montes y valles, para buscar la caça: porque in viendo alguna gran soledad, y algun notable retiramiento entre arboledas y fuentes, parece que alli le acordava nuestro Señor en lo que se avia de entretener toda la vida," &c. — *Coron. Gen.* v. 270. This is a delightful writer.

ever, having taken up their abode near the monastery of Don Miguel de Cusan, in Catalonia, the latter became so famous for his austerities — breaking his fast only twice a week, and then with the plainest fare — that Marino became the disciple in his turn. During his residence there he was instrumental in the conversion of Count Oliva, whom he agreed to accompany to the mountains of Monte-Casino. But the Catalans were filled with so high an admiration of his sanctity, that they opposed his departure; and when they found him resolved, they formed the extraordinary resolution of killing him, purely for the advantage of possessing his relics! This "impia pietas," as his biographer calls it, was prevented; for our anchoret, like David of old, feigned the fool, and escaped. One of the reasons which urged him to revisit Italy was the fact, that his father, Sergius, had, in a fit of contrition, professed in a house at Ravenna; but, when the fit was cooled, repented, and resolved to mix again with the world. To avert this dreaded apostasy, he travelled on foot to Ravenna, bound his father with fetters, and cudgelled him so heartily that, says Peter Damian, he cured the soul. He appears to have killed the body, for the poor old man did not long survive the drubbing. After this notable example of the way in which reprobate parents should be reclaimed, Romuald built a cell in the vicinity of the monastery at Closse, where he himself — let us not forget that the relation is by a contemporary — was one night so lustily cudgelled by the devil, that he was near following his father. At length, by the permission of the emperor Otho, then at Rome, he undertook the reformation of the house; but such was his rigour, that the monks again compelled him to leave them. During the remainder of his life he founded several monasteries, into which he introduced the rule of St. Benedict, but evidently rendered much more severe by his own asceticism; and these he visited from time to time, to watch over their discipline. One

of his most enviable gifts, we are told, from heaven, was that of tears, which fell from him wherever he preached or prayed, in such abundance as often to stifle his speech! Once he passed, with twenty-four disciples, into Hungary, in the hope of winning the same crown of martyrdom as had just been placed on the brows of St. Boniface, his disciple: he seems, however, to have lost the desire, for scarcely had he passed the frontiers of that kingdom when he returned.* During most of his life he was perpetually changing his abode, as much through instability of mind as the opposition of the monks in the houses which he had founded, and into which a degree of laxity had been introduced, inconsistent with the precepts of St. Benedict. This was a mortifying consideration to a man who regarded that patriarch's rule as too indulgent, and whose care was to render it more severe. In one place the monks, out of pure revenge, accused him of a nameless crime, which, though its commission was impossible, by reason alike of his age and emaciation, was believed by many: he was even suspended from the celebration of the sacraments, until — nothing in these days was done without a miracle — our Lord commanded him to say mass, as usual. He died in 1027, while alone in his cell, where his infirmities had long confined him.†

One of his best foundations was the celebrated monastery of Camaldula (Campo Malduli), one of the bleakest mountains of the Apennines, on the confines of Tuscany and Romagna, and within the diocese of Arezzo. The residence of the community is on a plain, situated on the summit of the mountain, so steep as not to be accessible without great difficulty. On all sides

* To excuse this manifest want of courage in a saint, his worshippers were compelled to have recourse to a miracle: it is too foolish a one to be repeated.

† Sanctus Petrus Damianus, Vita S. Romualdi Abbatis, cap. 1—20. Hieronymus Eremita Camaldulensis, Sermo de Vitâ S. Romualdi, cap. 1—13. Bollandistæ, Acta Sanctorum, Die vii. Februarii. Yepes, Coronica General, tom. v. centuria sexta, passim. Baronius, Annales Ecclesiastici (sub variis annis, præsertim 1027). Fleury, Histoire Ecclésiastique, tom. xii. lib. 56—59. Mabillon, Acta S.S. Bened. sæc. 6. passim.

the ascent is impeded by huge rugged rocks; and, even when the summit is reached, there is a high enclosure of walls and trees, sufficient to keep idle curiosity aloof. But, indeed, no stranger was allowed to place his foot on the sacred pile, lest the hermits should be disturbed in their holy contemplations: there was, however, another establishment on the declivity, where a less rigorous institute was observed, where hospitality was exercised, and guests prevented from ascending higher. This monastery has given name to the order which he founded, or rather the order which he reformed after the institution of St. Benedict. The inmates were at once cœnobites and hermits; for, though their cells were separated from each other only by a garden, they lived alone, ate alone, and met only when they assembled in the oratory at the daily offices. On great festivals, indeed, they were allowed to eat in common; and at certain times they inflicted the discipline on each other. Owing to the keenness of the atmosphere, and the abundance of snow in the winter months, the hermitages were of stone, firmly built, each with one grated window to admit the light. The three great obligations, to poverty, chastity, and obedience, which are contracted by the members of every monastic fraternity, are observed much more strictly by the hermits of Camaldula, than by any other brethren. Their white habit is of the coarsest materials; their food only vegetables, bread, and water, interrupted by such frequent fasts, that their whole lives are lives of abstinence and privation: one meal daily was the sole allowance, and that exceedingly scanty and meagre. Money they would not so much as touch; and lest their eremitical cells should contain any article of comfort, the superior and two aged monks made, at certain periods, the most searching visits. During the visit the inmate left the cell, so that without molestation they could take away whatever they deemed inconsistent with a life of penance. Their chastity was effectually secured, first by their

scanty fare, next by their inability to leave the enclosure, which no female was permitted to approach. Obedience extends to an instant performance of any service, however arduous, vile, or long-continued, which the superior may enjoin. If to this we add, that all the monastical hermits wore sackcloth, or something coarse, next to the skin, we may form some idea of the extreme severity of the institution. Their whole lives were passed in silence, except at one daily office, when they joined in the responses; or during a short time between vespers and complines, when they were indulged with the privilege of mutual religious conversation. But as idleness was banished from the place, the many hours which each daily passed in his cell or hermitage, were devoted wholly to contemplation and prayer. Throughout the day not a sound was to be heard within the precincts, except the warbling of birds, or the faint chanting of the brethren at the regular offices. — But hitherto we have been speaking only of the ordinary or cœnobitical hermits, and their manner of life;—what will be said of the *recluses*,—of men whose lives were devoted to perpetual seclusion and silence, whose cell was their prison through life? Yet many such there were within the enclosure of Camaldula, besides others who contracted the obligation of seclusion for a period only, often for one hundred days. This order had two wise regulations: it received no novice under twenty-five years of age; and it allowed no one to bury himself alive under thirty-five,—no one who had not, in addition, distinguished himself as an ordinary hermit; nor even then, without much preparation and the licence of the general chapter. Having obtained the licence, observed many vigils, fasts, prayed much, and made a general confession, the candidate, on the morning of his living funeral, first says mass, if he be in priest's orders; if not, he joins in one and communicates with the whole congregation of hermits, solemnly assembled for the occasion. After the mass of the Holy Ghost, all pray

that he may have grace sufficient to support the awful state of seclusion on which he is about to enter; that he may issue victorious from the unseen and solitary struggle which he is about to commence with the prince of darkness. All then accompany him in solemn procession to his perpetual prison, repeating as they go the litany and the penitential psalms. On arriving at the living tomb, they sprinkle it with holy water, while a priest exclaims, *Benedic, Domine, quæsumus, cellam istam! et qui in umbra alarum Tuarum speramus, ab omnibus insidiis dæmonum, virtutis Tuæ potentiâ tueamur! Per Dominum*, &c. The hermits now embrace the recluse, and leave him. But, if he be unable to contend with the difficulties, the extraordinary vigils, fasts, prayers, and contrition of his situation, when no human eye is near to comfort or assist him, he is not without hope: at the end of a year, which is thence called the year of probation, he may return to his former monastical life. If he then expresses his resolution to persevere, the obligation is binding unto the day of his death. From this day forward he is not allowed to speak with any human being, except at confession: on such occasions he rings a little bell, suspended in his hermitage; a priest hastens at the signal, listens, absolves, and administers the sacrament in silence, — not a word being exchanged, — the prayers necessary for the occasion being repeated rather mentally than verbally. In extreme cases, indeed, such as of sickness, the same bell may summon the aid of the monkish physician; but, if able to write, his complaint must be briefly stated on paper, and his instructions given through the same medium. We may add that on three days in the year — the three last in the holy week — the recluses are permitted to attend mass in the church of the monastery, but they are not allowed, either on the passage or in the church, to exchange a word with any one. If any one should here ask, says Yepes, what a recluse thus imprisoned can find to do, I answer, that

what with praying and meditating, he can have no idle time either day or night. Some idea may be formed of his interminable religious duties when we state his daily routine. He had to repeat not only the officium major, or that of the mass; the officium minor, or that of Our Lady; and the office for the dead; but the whole of the psalter, and each of the services at the canonical hours, — at vigils, matins, primes, tierces, sexts, nones, vespers, and complines. When the bell of the church tolled for each of these services, he had to stand in his oratory, — in his cell, — and there repeat the same prayers, with the same ceremonies, inclinations of body and genuflexions, as were practised by the hermits in community. And these prayers he was compelled to repeat in a distinct voice, so that he might be heard by the superiors, who at such hours made the round of the prisons. In addition to all this labour, the recluses were required to fast oftener, to undergo more penance, in various shapes, than the rest. In return, however, they had the satisfaction of being regarded with superior reverence by the other hermits, — as almost perfect in holiness, as saints while in the flesh, as the temples of God's Spirit, as in constant communion with him, as often favoured with supernatural gifts. In consideration of the unparalleled severity of the Camaldulensian institute, the monks of all other orders in the church were allowed to profess in it; for no monk could ever leave a strict order for one less strict; if he changed his rule or institute, it could only be to assume one more rigorous. — This institute was, as we have before observed, founded on the Benedictine rule, with the addition of such regulations as were adapted to the eremitical life, and were distinguished for their excessive rigour, — a rigour unknown even in the deserts of Thebes. This order has subsisted to our days, the refuge of an ardent, however mistaken, piety; and from the summit of Camaldula, the prior of the great monastery, who was also general of the order,

could issue, in conjunction with his chapter, temporary regulations for the guidance of all the establishments situated in all other parts of Christendom. Sometimes, by especial permission of the chapter general, a monk of some other order, or secular priest, was permitted to visit the "holy mountain." One of these, Andres Muñoz, on contemplating the austerities, the tranquillity, and the piety of the place, breaks out into a strain of devotional rapture, extraordinary even in a Spaniard:—"Oh! sacred retirement of Camaldula! sovereign of deserts! queen of solitudes! fruitful mother that produces so many children, heirs of heaven! sheepfold watched by the Pastor of heaven! nest in which so many birds are hatched that by day and night sing praises to the Highest! fertile land that produces such fruit! orchard of beauty! garden of sweets! furnace which purifies souls by throwing off the dross of vice! abode of the good! school of all the virtues! reformer of vice! medicine of the sick! consolation of the afflicted! heaven on earth! earthly paradise! walled garden! gate of heaven! perfect tree which bears such glorious fruit! land of promise! house of God! resting place of the just! sacred and consecrated to heaven!—happy those who dwell in thee."—At this day, the traveller who has curiosity enough to plunge into the mountains, about eight leagues north of Arezzo, may admire the structure of Camaldula; whether he would be able to obtain admisson, and, if so, whether the inmates have degenerated from their ancient severity of life, we have no means at present of communicating.*

960 to 1072. Contemporary with the founder of this order were three saints, of whom, though none gave birth to a new institute, something should be said, since all were dis-

* Augustus Florentinus, Regula Camaldulensis (as quoted by Yepes, Coron. Gen. tom. v. cent. 6). Hieronymus Camaldulensis, Sermo de Vitâ S. Rom. cap. 10. et 11. The Bollandists, Acta Sanctorum; Mabillon, Acta S.S. Bened.; Yepes, Coron. Gen.; Fleury, Histoire; Baronius, Annales, ubi suprà.

tinguished for their anchoretic austerities. 1. *St. Nilus*, by birth a Greek of Calabria, alarmed alike at a heavy sin which he had committed, and at a fever which he regarded as its punishment, resolved, when his strength was partially recovered, to assume the cowl. On his way to a distant monastery, he met a Saracen, who asked him whither he was going, and, on his confessing the truth, advised him to wait until he was older, before he contracted the irrevocable obligation. "Youth, it becomes not thee to enter on such a life, but rather the old: wait, and then, if the desire continue, thou canst fulfil thy purpose." There was wisdom in the advice, but even wisdom from such lips lost its effect: he persisted, was treated with great kindness by the misbeliever, his wants were relieved, and he went his way. Having assumed the habit, he retired to a cavern, where was an altar dedicated to St. Michael, not far from the monastery. His mode of life in this secluded abode was sufficiently austere. He ate no thing before sunset, and then only a little bread and fruit, moistened by a small cup of water. Yet, on this fare, he contrived, not only to say the diurnal hours, but to write from matins to tierce, and from tierce to sexts, to repeat the psalter, while standing before a cross, and making a thousand genuflexions, At night, he gave one hour only to sleep before he rose to the psalter, and remained at his occupation until first vigils, then matins, surprised him. But all those austerities were probably less meritorious in the eyes of his biographer, than the patience with which he bore the vermin, — vermin and filth have always been inseparable from the anchoretical life, — that continually tormented him. Having filled this neighbourhood with his fame, he removed to an oratory on his own estates, a few leagues distant from Rossina. While here, a terrible earthquake having destroyed much of the city, he left his oratory, where he had been joined by several disciples, to contemplate its effects. With a fox-skin over

his head, and a strange mantle suspended from his shoulders, he went along, the children, astonished at his appearance, throwing stones at him, and calling him Bulgarian, or Armenian. Being visited by the metropolitan and a few priests, less to admire than to try him, — an intention which he was at no loss to divine, — he caused this sentence to be read: — "Out of ten thousand souls now in the body, scarcely one shall be saved." "God forbid!" exclaimed the priests; "a heretic must have said that. Are we then Christians for nothing?" But he had little difficulty in showing them, that, according to the literal sense of Scripture, and the interpretation of the fathers, such a doom was certain. For a moment they were silent, when one, suspected of too much attachment to the fair sex, gravely asked him whether Solomon was saved or damned. "Wilt *thou* be saved or damned?" replied the impatient hermit. "What is it to thee or me whether he be or not? It is written, that whoever looks on a woman to lust after her, hath already committed adultery in his heart. As to Solomon, however, the Scriptures no where say that he repented, as they say of Manasses." This rebuke did not prevent a priest, bolder than the rest, from asking of what tree Adam ate in the garden. "Of a wild apple-tree!" was the reply. All laughed, the priest in triumph, when he added: "You need not laugh; the answer is as good as the question. How should I acquaint you with what Scripture has not revealed. Instead of reflecting for what end you were created, and placed in paradise; what commandments you have received and have not kept; what expelled you from Eden, and how you may regain it; — instead of all this, you ask me the name of the tree, and if I could tell you, you would then ask what kind of root, or leaves, or bark it had, whether it was a tall or a little one." It is some consolation to find that reason had not wholly deserted this wild enthusiast; that superhuman austerities and a mad devo-

tion were not inconsistent with some acuteness of mind. His fame was so well established, that, on the death of the archbishop of that province, the people sought him to elect him to that dignity; but, being forewarned of their intention, he fled into the mountain and hid himself until a successor was appointed. Still greater honours would have been paid him by emperors and popes, but he resolutely declined them, until his death, which took place early in the eleventh century.* — 2. *St. Dominic*, surnamed *Loricatus*, or the mailed, because, through penance, he constantly wore an iron shirt under his garments, was an enthusiast of much less discretion; in fact, his sanity may reasonably be doubted. At the canonical age he entered into deacon's orders; but, finding that his parents were employing simony to procure his preferment, he fled, and assumed the habit of the Camaldulensian order, — not on the sacred hill of that name, but at a dependent hermitage near Luceola, in Umbria. In that hermitage were eighteen cells; the inmates lived five days a week on one daily meal of bread and water; on Thursdays and Sundays only they had a warm meal of vegetables; their legs and feet were naked; yet their prayers and labours were incessant; and they never exchanged a word, except once a week, between vespers and complines. Dominic outdid all the rest in severity: he never put off his mailed shirt except to give himself the discipline; daily did he repeat the psalter twice, often three times, and accompanied the recital by lashing himself with rods, without a moment's intermission, until his body, sometimes his face, was one great wound. One day he boasted that he had repeated the psalter no fewer than eight times, with the same unmerciful accompaniment; and the livid wounds which disfigured him bore testimony to the fact. But even this was insufficient; for one night, from complines to matins, he went nearly

* The life of St. Nilus, though written by a disciple, has its miracles, which we have had no disposition to relate.

thirteen times through the same service. Having one day read in a book, that whoever should repeat certain twelve psalms eighty times successively, with his arms raised in the form of a cross, would redeem one year of penance, he tried the experiment and succeeded, — not on one day only, but several. Some years before his death, finding that leather thongs were more painful as a discipline than twigs or rods, he disused the latter, and of the former made a whip, which he constantly wore about him. This penance he improved by wearing two heavy iron rings round his legs, and two round his arms. What with the iron shirt, the discipline, the rings, and his severe fasts, his flesh, says his biographer, was black as an Ethiop's; yet he lived to a good old age, and when he died, in 1062, he left many imitators behind him. — 3. More celebrated than either of the preceding was *St. Peter Damian,* born at Ravenna, in 1007. Through the affection of a brother, a dignitary in the cathedral of his native city, he enjoyed the privilege of liberal studies, first at Faenza, and subsequently at Parma, and with such success that he was at length a teacher in his turn, one too of some celebrity. At this period, with the assured prospect — and in this respect Catholic countries may put the Protestant to shame — of honours and dignities before him, he resolved to relinquish them, and to profess in some rigid order. With this view, he began to wear sackcloth round his loins, to fast, watch, and pray; and when, as we are told was sometimes the case, he was much tempted by the enemy peculiar to his age, he arose from his bed, plunged into a neighbouring river, and went into some church to pray from vigils to matins. No doubt the expedient succeeded; but distrusting his inclination always to adopt it, he one day left his pupils, met with two hermits of Fonte-Avellana, in Umbria, whom he accompanied to their solitary abode, and assumed the habit. As this hermitage belonged to the order of Camaldula, we need not report the severities to which he submitted.

But his fame as an expounder of the holy Scriptures, — an office which his abbot commanded him to fill, — would not long suffer him to remain in the desert of Fonte-Avellana. He was compelled to visit other houses of the order, that his learning might be exercised to the edification of many. He was soon called to the government of his monastery, which he greatly augmented; and ere long he was enabled to found five other religious establishments, subject to the rule of St. Benedict, as reformed by the successors of St. Romualdus. But his chief celebrity arose from the fury with which he assailed the vices of the times, especially of the clergy, and for the vehemence with which he invoked the severest penalties of the canons on all offenders. If his declamations generally failed of their effect, they at least exhibited his own talents and zeal, and led to his promotion. In his fiftieth year he was forced from his retirement, to assume the bishopric of Ostia and the dignity of cardinal. That his zeal was not feigned to arrive at such an elevation, appears from his subsequent conduct: instead of relaxing, he grew more earnest in his efforts to correct the great evil of the church, — the scandalous lives of the clergy, — an evil which he exposed with considerable eloquence. But his zeal was without discretion: its interference wounded the guilty; and the absurd extent to which he carried the obligation of penance, excited the pity of some, the contempt of more. Whatever might be his learning, — though that has been greatly over-rated, — his judgment was lamentably weak. He seems to have entertained an opinion that frequent self-flagellation was necessary to salvation; yet not an instance could be found of such a notion during the ten centuries which had elapsed from the first promulgation of the Gospel. The reasoning by which he attempted to establish his favourite point, is on a par with the subject. As Christians, we are bound to bear the cross of our Master; but scourging was a part of that cross; therefore, we must be scourged; and if there be no perse-

cutors to inflict the cross upon us, we must inflict it on ourselves. The duty of the flagellation being thus established, he next passes to the degree: if fifty strokes be allowable, why not one hundred? — five hundred? — a thousand? As it is impossible to be too good, so a good thing cannot be carried too far; if fifty stripes have merit, five hundred have more; if to fast one day be pleasing to Heaven, to fast many must be more so. According to this precious logician, the height of merit, of virtue, of favour with God, would be, to expire by famine, or under the blows of the whip. His credulity is equal to his austere fanaticism. To prove the advantage, — he would fain add the positive obligation, — of celebrating a mass daily in honour of Our Lady, according to the officium minor which superstitious devotion had recently invented, he instances the priest of Nevers, who was thus devout to her, and who, on the point of death, had the honour, not only of being visited by her, but of receiving the celestial milk from her bosom.* After fulfilling some honourable missions as legate of the holy see, he died in 1072. That he willingly practised the severities which he recommended to others, is indubitable: for this he has been canonised; but rational religion owes him nothing. From his writings, however, which are numerous, something valuable may be learned: they exhibit a faithful picture of the manners of the times. If asceticism abounded, piety did not: by many it was assumed hypocritically. Some hermits kept their cells only in Lent; during the rest of the year they wandered from monastery to monastery, often propagating, rather than discouraging, vice. Nor does he draw a more favourable picture of the secular clergy, whom he represents, — and the representation is confirmed by contemporary historians, — as lazy in their lives, luxurious in their habits, addicted to incontinence, and so ignorant as not to comprehend the Latin service of the altar. We may

* For the Virgin's attachment to her devotees, see the History of Spain and Portugal (Cab. Cyc.), vol. iv. p. 216—228.

conclude by observing, that, whatever were the credulity, the feebleness of judgment, the absurd fanaticism of St. Peter Damian, he was a thoroughly sincere man, inspired with the deepest piety, a model of the moral virtues.*

Omitting the lives of Rodolfo, bishop of Eugubio, a prelate distinguished for his charity; of Giovanni Gualberto, founder of the monastery of Vallombrosa, belonging to the order of Camalduli; of Arialdo, the deacon murdered by the priests of Milan, in revenge for his anathematising clerical marriages; of St. Anthelmo, the Carthusian; and of other saints,—lives which, though not destitute of interest, we have not space to relate,—we come to one of great celebrity, *St. Francis of Assisi*, the founder of the Friars Minor, or Franciscans. The life of this monastic reformer, however, has been so filled with wonderful inventions by the writers of his order, that the perusal must inspire every sensible mind with disgust. That such inventions, as clumsy as they are marvellous, should have obtained any countenance from a writer so judicious as the Abbé Fleury, is a melancholy reflection.† Omitting all the extravagant embellishments of the Franciscan fathers, St. Francis was the son of a merchant of Assisi; of devotional temperament, and of a charitable disposition. 1182 to 1226.

* Anonymus, Vita S. Nili Abbatis, cap. 1—14. Sanctus Petrus Damianus, Vita S. Dominici Loricati (in Epist. ad Alexandrum ii.). Joannis Laudensis, Vita S. Petri Damiani, cap. 1—9. Annales Camaldulenses (sub annis). Bollandistæ, Acta Sanctorum, Diebus Septembris 26, Octobris 14, et Februarii 23. Fleury, Histoire Ecclésiastique, tom. xii. xiii. and xiv. Baronius, Annales Ecclesiastici (sub annis). Mabillon, Annales Benedictini, tom. iv. lib. 52.; necnon Acta SS. Ord. S. Ben. sec. 6. tom. ix. Tiraboschi, Storia della Letteratura Italiana, tom. iii. lib. 4. cap. 2. sect. 22. and 23.

As in the case of St. Gregory the Great, and, in fact, of every countryman whose name he has occasion to mention, the abate Tiraboschi can find no room for censure: he can see nothing but excellence. What pity that so learned, so laborious, and, in many cases, so excellent a work, should have so little of criticism or of common candour to recommend it!

† For a heap of blasphemy, unequalled, perhaps, in the whole domain of letters — blasphemy, too, as ridiculous for its absurdity as it is sinful, see Opus aureum et inexplicabilis Bonitatis et Continentiæ: Conformitatum, scilicet, Vitæ Beati Francisci ad Vitam Domini Nostri Jesu Christi, by Bartholomæus Pisanus. This book is sufficient to stamp eternal reprobation on the order which approved it, and permitted it to be published. We will not sully our pages by extracts from it. The lives of St. Francis by Thomas de Celano and St. Buonaventura are very little better.

His conversion, viz. his retreat from the world, was hastened by the sorrow he one day felt at witnessing the ruin of the church of St. Damian, within which he stopped to pray. While thus alone, he heard, or seemed to hear, — whether some priest whispered it from an unseen corner, or imagination created it, we cannot determine, — a voice which commanded him to build up the Lord's house. His first act was not a very honest one; but with some men piety is a sufficient excuse for the breach of morality: he sold his father's merchandise at Foligni, and returned to the priest of the ruinous church, who received him, but not the money. On his father's hastening to chastise him, he escaped; but soon upbraiding himself for cowardice, he sought the paternal roof, was beaten and confined; yet his mother suffered him to return. Again did the old man follow the son, and this time he was fortunate enough to recover the money: Francis, however, told him that he cared neither for him nor his substance, that he would suffer every thing for Jesus Christ. He was cited to go before the bishop, to repeat his renunciation of all claim on his paternal inheritance; he joyfully complied, and, in the prelate's presence, hastily stripping himself, he presented his garments to his father, saying, "Hitherto I have called you my earthly father; henceforth I shall acknowledge only my Father who is in heaven." The bishop, admiring his fervour, covered him with his robe, until other garments could be procured him; and the old man returned home, — probably not sorry to be rid of such a son. Acting on the injunction which he believed he had received, he began to beg money of all his former acquaintance for the repair of St. Damian's church, and he was successful: two other churches were in like manner restored, partly by his personal labour. In two years he began to preach repentance; he advised people to forsake the world, to follow, as he himself unquestionably did, the divine injunction of taking neither gold nor silver, neither scrip nor staves; to embrace the lowest poverty,

and to live on alms. At length a disciple presented himself, requesting advice how to flee the world. "Let us ask it of God!" was the reply. The Gospels were opened,—the saints of this period were much given to divination by the holy volume*,—and the first passage that struck the eye was:—"If thou wouldst be perfect, go, sell all that thou hast, and give it to the poor:" the second, "Take nothing for your journey:" the third, "Let him take up his cross and follow me."—"Such," triumphantly observed Francis, "is my rule." A second, who loved praying better than working, soon followed the first, and Francis conferred the habit on both: when a third arrived, he sent the two former to preach in Romagna, while, with the last, he went into the March of Ancona. By some they were reviled, by a few ill-treated, by most they were regarded as vagabonds worthy of correction; and even when their number was increased, they were considered suspicious, and often constrained to pass whole nights in church porches, or wherever else they could obtain shelter. The eleventh disciple was a priest, a circumstance which raised the hopes of Francis, who now drew up his rule. It consisted chiefly of precepts taken from the scriptures, of such especially as related to voluntary poverty, and of ascetic regulations, adapted for the discipline of its followers. Subsequently (in 1223), he extended it, so as to admit the chief obligations assumed by other orders. No friar could preach without the sanction of his provincial, nor without the consent of the diocesan. The community consisted of priests and lay brothers; the former were bound to repeat daily the divine office, the latter so many *paters*, at each of the diurnal hours. Long-continued fasting was enjoined both, and an utter contempt for wealth; gold and silver they were not to touch, nor was any one allowed to receive it for them; and their habit was to be of the coarsest de-

* This mode of divination was lately, and probably is now, practised by some methodists. Fanaticism is every where the same, only that the Sortes Biblicæ are worse than the Sortes Virgilianæ.

scription. All were to regard themselves as pilgrims and strangers here below, as called to war with human pride, to rejoice in necessity and tribulation. To procure the approbation of his rule by the pope, he and his companions hastened, in their mean attire, and with their dubious reputation, to Rome. His journey would have been fruitless had he not unexpectedly met with his own diocesan, who some years before had protected him against his father, and who now interested one of the cardinals in his behalf. Yet, when the subject was first mentioned, Innocent III. refused, with something like sternness, to approve the rule; and even, when afterwards persuaded by the cardinal, — the legend says by a dream, — to suffer the application to be renewed, he barely tolerated the new institution, and that verbally. But even the shadow of pontifical approbation sufficed; Francis was encouraged to persevere. He was at first doubtful whether he was called to live in solitude or to preach; but being at length convinced that his first duty was to win souls, he chose society. With some difficulty he begged from the Benedictines one of the churches which he had assisted to repair, situated near the walls of Assisi; and this was the first establishment of the order. From this time his success was more rapid: in 1211, he was able to found several monasteries, from which his disciples departed to preach the Gospel in the surrounding country. In 1216, he could send them, two by two, not through Italy only, but throughout most of Christendom: in Spain he had several missionaries; in Provence, then dependent on the empire, he had thirty-four; in Germany above sixty; to France he sent a noted troubadour; to England, friars Angelo and Albert. For such missions they wanted no money: they were mendicants by profession, and wherever there was credulity, — and where is it not? — they could depend on a subsistence. The mission to Germany failed, and had little success elsewhere; and no wonder, for such ragamuffins were

never before seen; they were regarded as thieves escaped from justice; and even at Rome they were thought to be no better than they should be. But when Francis was fortunate enough to procure at the papal court a protector of his order in cardinal Ugolino, both he and his followers were less liable to persecution. In 1219, he held, on the plain near Assisi, the first chapter general of his order, which was attended by above five thousand friars. There were also present cardinal Ugolino, and St. Domingo de Guzman, who had recently founded the orders of the preaching friars, and whose life will be related in the Spanish division of this work.* As the object of both orders was the same, Domingo wisely advised the union of both; but it was opposed by Francis, who had evidently no wish to hold a divided sovereignty. The pope no longer hesitated to issue his bull to all bishops and dignitaries in favour of the order, enjoining them to assist the preaching friars, and not, as they had hitherto done, to interpose obstacles to the conversion of men. The order, however, was not formally confirmed until 1223, when the founder put the finishing hand to his rule. Other missions were about the same time despatched, not through Europe only, but to Syria, Egypt, and Tunis, and he himself headed that which proceeded to Egypt. Soon after his disembarkation at Damietta, which was then besieged by the Christians, he left the Christian camp, accompanied by one of his disciples, and boldly advanced towards that of the Moslem. On the way they saw two sheep: "Courage, brother," said Francis, "here we are like sheep among wolves!" That he hoped for the crown of martyrdom is undoubted; but the sultan Meledin (Melek-Camal) disappointed them. If much faith were to be placed in the relations of Jacques de Vitry, and of St. Buonaventura, the conversation between the saint and the monarch would be interesting; but it every where bears the mark of invention, or, at least, of exaggeration. —

* See Book ii. ch. 2.

"Who sent you hither?" demanded the sultan. "The Most High," replied the other, "to show thee and thy people the way of salvation!" After listening with some attention to the missionary, whose boldness he admired, and whose romantic design perhaps amused him, he invited both to remain with him. "Willingly," was the reply, "if thou and thy subjects will embrace the religion of Christ." "Cause a fire to be lighted," added Francis, "and let thy imâns enter it with me, that we may see which religion is the true one!"—"I do not believe," said the sultan, "that any of our imâns would enter the fire for his religion!"—"If thou wilt promise to embrace Christianity in the event of my escaping unhurt," rejoined the friar, "I will enter it alone: if I die, impute the catastrophe to my sins; if I live, acknowledge that Jesus Christ is true God, the Saviour of men!" The sultan, we are told, durst not accept the proposal, for fear of a sedition, and that his priests were despised,—a proof of disinterestedness which added much to his esteem. What speaks most for the character of the sultan is, that they were not only kindly dismissed, but honourably escorted back to the Christian camp, which the saint soon left for Italy. His subsequent life is represented as surpassing holy,—as at once seraphic for its character, and divine for its utility to others: that he performed miracles equally stupendous and numerous; that he was the image of Christ; nay, that he was miraculously made to bear the same wounds as our Saviour; that the nails were visible in his hands and feet, and the spear-wound in his side, are blasphemies which his immediate followers did not scruple to invent; and which, strange to say, even the Abbé Fleury was so blind as to receive.* He died in 1226, when his order had arisen to high prosperity: it could reckon at least ten thou-

* Lucas Tudensis (contra Albigenses, lib. ii. cap. 2. in Bibliotheca Patrum Latinorum) adduces the stigmata of St. Francis as a proof of the truth of the Roman Catholic faith.

sand members; and it had missionaries in the three quarters of the globe.*

Contemporary with the celebrated founder of the Friars Minor were three other saints, at whom we may cast a passing glance. *St. Clair*, a native of Assisi, was one of his earliest converts, and the only female one whom he would consent to receive. Having had a private interview with him, and been confirmed in her long-cherished purpose of renouncing the world, she fled from her father's house, one night in March, 1212, and at matin-song reached the monastery, where her hair was cut, and she assumed the veil. As Francis had no establishment for females, he placed her in a Benedictine nunnery, where she was soon visited by her indignant parents, who justly represented her nocturnal flight as creditable neither to religion nor to her family, and asked her to return. Though sufficiently inclined, they had not the courage to force her from the altar; so that, though their persuasions and threats were renewed several days, she remained a nun,—a nun, too, without a noviciate. By Francis she was removed to the church of St. Damian, which he had formerly repaired, and which soon became a convent. The first who joined her was her own sister, Agnes, whom her parents one day forcibly dragged from the place, and continued to drag her towards her former home, when, says the biographer, she was found so heavy that she could not be moved; so she was left, and suffered to return. During many years did this lady support the austerities of her situation; sackcloth next to her skin, the bare floor for her bed, a billet of wood for her pillow, bread and water a great part of the year. Her mad devotion had the effect which every rational mind

1212 to 1380.

* Wadingus, Annales Fratrum Minorum, an. 1206—1226. Thomas de Celano, Vita S. Francisci Confessoris, lib. i. ii. iii. Leo Rufinus et Angelus, Appendix ad Vitam ejusdem, cap. 1—5. S. Bonaventura, Vita ejusdem Sancti, cap. 1—16. Bollandistæ, Acta Sanctorum, Die Octobris iv. Baronius, Annales Ecclesiastici, an. 1206—1224. Fleury, Histoire Ecclésiastique, tom. xvi. passim.

must have foreseen: it confined her during the last twenty-eight years of her life to her bed, and consequently rendered her unable to serve God in the most agreeable way, — by active virtue. But such was her reputed sanctity, that her last hours (1252) were honoured by the presence of pope Innocent IV. — *St. Peter of Verona* was a Dominican preacher, who furiously inveighed against the Manichean doctrines held in Lombardy, and consequently incurred no small portion of hatred. As one of the inquisitors of his order, appointed by the pope to enquire into and to punish heresy, he probably considered that the more severity he exhibited, the more serviceable he should be to God and the church. He appears, in fact, to have been almost as ferocious as Domingo himself. In 1252, a conspiracy was formed against him, and he was barbarously murdered in a forest. Of course he was held a martyr, and in the sequel sainted. — *St. Buonaventura*, — if *saint* can be applied to an individual of dubious character, — born in Tuscany in 1221, became the eighth general of the Franciscans. We term that character dubious, not from his moral conduct, which appears to have been as good as that of most people in his time, but from the zeal with which he encouraged the blasphemous imposture respecting the stigmata of St. Francis, in his life of that glory of the friars. Of weak judgment, of little learning, of pitiable credulity, ardent in his devotions, uncharitable towards others, an ascetic in his habits, his numerous writings, like himself, have little claim to our respect. He is praised for the disinterestedness with which he refused the archbishopric of York; yet his encomiasts forget that he accepted the dignities of bishop and cardinal. He died in 1274; but two centuries elapsed before he was thought worthy of canonisation. — To these we may add one more celebrated, who flourished a century later, — the last saint whom in this place we shall notice, — *Catherine of Sienna*, a Dominican sister, whose cha-

racter and mind have given rise to some controversy among the Roman Catholics themselves; one party contending that she was crazed, another that she was an impostor, a third, and one by far more numerous, that she was a seraphic saint, the most highly favoured of all women, saving the ever-blessed Virgin Mother of Christ. It is, however, surprising that any controversy at all should have arisen: the following extract from her life, written by her own confessor, ought surely to set the subject at rest. We must first observe, that for years she had pretended to continual revelations from heaven, to most frequent conversations with Christ, visible, sometimes alone, sometimes accompanied by apostles and saints; that her whole life was a miracle; that she was divinely taught Latin; that one day Christ promised to espouse her; and that he at length appeared with the welcome communication that he would then fulfil his pledge: —

"While he was thus speaking, behold there appeared the most glorious Virgin, his mother, the most blessed John the evangelist, the glorious apostle Paul, the *most holy* St. Domingo, founder of the order, and with them David the prophet, having his harp in his hand. And while the prophet was sweetly playing, the Virgin Mother of God seized with her most sacred hand the hand of the virgin, and, extending the fingers towards her son, begged that he would deign to betroth her. And the only-begotten Son of God, graciously consenting, pulled forth a golden ring, having four precious stones around its border, and an adamantine gem surpassingly beautiful at the top, which, with his own sacred hand, putting on the ring finger of her right hand, he said, — 'Behold, I, thy Creator and Saviour, pledge thee my troth, which shall continue inviolate until we celebrate our perpetual nuptials in heaven!' Having spoken these words, the whole disappeared; yet the ring always remained on her finger, not, indeed, visible to others, but to herself. Often has she confessed

to me, though modestly, that she always perceived it there,—that there was never a moment in which it was not there."*

Omitting all her other revelations, and the numerous miracles which her confessor records of her, if any man, judging from the extract above,—and there are many other passages as bad, or even worse,—should hesitate to denounce her as an impostor, and the friar as her accomplice, we pity his head, or we detest his heart. To say, as the charitable Fleury would insinuate, that she was crazed, will not do: her madness had too much method in it to leave room for such charity. Her conduct appears to have corresponded with her principles. That she was bitterly upbraided by the sisterhood "quod suam perdidisset virginitatem," is acknowledged by her biographer: that her frequent absence from her convent gave scandal to the world, is confessed by herself. *His* implication in the imposture is sufficiently clear, from his relating that, one day, when he was secretly sent for to her, and when he was standing by her bedside, doubting whether the strange things she related could possibly be true, her countenance suddenly changed, and was transformed into one of a man, so venerable, so majestic, so awful, that it was manifestly

* Lest we should be accused of exaggeration, we give the original passage:—

"Adhuc eo loquente, apparuerunt Virgo gloriosissima mater ejus, beatissimus Joannes Evangelista, gloriosus Apostolus Paulus, sanctissimus Dominicus *Pater suæ Religionis* (a fit term), ac cum his omnibus David propheta psalterium musicum habens in manu suâ. Quo supersuavissimè ac sonore pulsante, Virgo Dei genitrix, virginis dexteram sacratissima sua cepit manu, digitosque illius extendens ad Filium, postulabat ut eam sibi desponsare dignaretur in fide. Quod Dei unigenitus gratissimè annuens, annulum protulit aureum, habentem in circulo suo quatuor margaritas, ac adamantinam gemmam superpulcherrimam etiam suâ summitate inclusam. Quem digito annulari dexteræ virginis dexterâ suâ supersacrâ imponens, 'Ecce, inquit, desponso te mihi Creatori et Salvatori tuo in fide, quæ usque quo in cœlis tuas mecum nuptias celebraris, semper conservabitur illibata.' His dictis, disparuit visio, sed semper remansit annulus ille in digito, non quidem secundum visionem aliorum, sed tantum secundum ipsius virginis visionem. Confessa etenim, licet verecundè, mihi sæpius est, quod semper annulum illum videbat in digito, nec unquam fuit tempus in quo non videret."—*Raimundus Capuanus, Ordinis Prædicatorum Magister Generalis, ipsius Sanctæ Confessoris, in Vita Sanctæ Catharinæ*, pars ii. cap. 7. § 115. (apud Bollandistas, Die xxx. Aprilis.)

the Lord's. More need not be said, to prove that the saint and the confessor were worthy of each other, and that eternal infamy must cover the memory of both. Had she lived in other times, we should probably have heard nothing of her sanctity. In the schism which, during her latter days (she died in 1380), began to distract the church, she espoused the part of Urban VI., with so much heat, that he was ready enough to elevate her reputed miraculous character, since, by so doing, he strengthened his own pretensions. The same reason induced the Florentines to employ her in negotiating a peace; but they duped her when she was no longer necessary as their tool.*

The multiplication of religious orders, and, in so great a degree, of religious houses, does not appear to have materially advanced the interests of piety; since, in the first place, it generated a feeling of jealousy among them, and, in the next, it attracted the idle and worthless. The vagabond life of the mendicant friars was exceedingly adapted to the diffusion of profligacy; and it may be safely affirmed, that the immoral conduct of the Franciscans and Dominicans has been the ruin of the western church, almost of religion itself. These evils began to be felt as early as the thirteenth century, and the council of Lyons had some intention of limiting the number. St. Peter Cestin, of Apulia, who, in 1263, founded the order which bears his name, and which, like most other orders, was governed by the rule of St. Benedict, trembled for his; but, in a journey to Lyons, he was so successful as to procure its confirmation. And, in 1279, pope Nicolas III. undertook, in an elaborate bull, the defence of the Friars Minor, whose wandering life had justly been reprobated

* Wadingus, Annales Fratrum Minorum, an. 1212. Vita S. Patri Martyris Ord. Præd. per Thomam de Lentino, cap. 1—5. Octavianus à Mantinis, De Vitâ et Miraculis S. Bonaventuræ Oratio, § 1—25. p. 824—830. Vita ejusdem, per Petrum Galesinium, cap. 1—9. Raimundus Capuanus, Vita S. Catharinæ Senensis, partes i. et ii. (in multis capitulis). Raynaldus, Annales Ecclesiastici (sub annis veterum Sanctorum). Bollandistæ, Acta Sanctorum, Diebus Augusti xi. Aprilis xxix. Julii xiv. Aprilis xxx. Fleury, Histoire Ecclésiastique, tom. xvi.—xx.

as a dangerous novelty. Ten years afterwards, Nicholas IV., himself of the order, declared them exempt from episcopal jurisdiction, as submitted only to the papal chair: and he granted them several privileges exceedingly hostile to the rights of the diocesans. It is in the nature, too, of such institutions to degenerate: the obligations which a few zealous founders voluntarily contract must seem nearly impossible to their less fervent successors. As early as the ninth century, the order which St. Benedict had founded in the sixth, was greatly mitigated: its purity, too, was adulterated by the adoption of additional constitutions, promulgated by nobody knows whom, but welcome, because more favourable to indulgence. But the chief causes of this laxity were the riches which indiscreet piety bequeathed to them; the rich man will not labour, nor will he pray either so frequently or so fervently as the virtuous poor man. It was, indeed, to be expected that the Franciscans, who were strictly enjoined by their rule to have nothing, — neither houses, nor furniture, nor stores of provisions, nor money, — would maintain their original poverty; but they and the pope soon discovered that, if they could not touch money themselves, it might be received by a third party for them*; and if they could not own immoveable property, they could at least enjoy the use, the dominium of the thing used resting with the pope. Thus, in the midst of abundance, they could say that they had nothing, that every thing belonged to his holiness, that they were graciously permitted its use during their lives. But an ordinary civilian might strangely have puzzled the casuistical brotherhood, by asking for a distinction between the *dominium* and the *use* of things perishable. But riches were not the sole cause of monastic decline: the multiplication of prayers, of services at the canonical hours, were almost as bad. The ancient Egyptian

* Even this was forbidden by St. Francis; but, as the prohibition was found inconvenient, the holy see declared that it was no longer obligatory.

monks prayed *in common* only twice a day; St. Benedict appointed nine services; but as he rendered seven hours' labour no less obligatory, each service could not have been unusually long. Subsequent reformers of the order increased the number of prayers and psalms; and, as chanting superseded simple recital, the hours which should have been applied to manual labour were sadly diminished; in fact, that labour began to be regarded as degrading, as fit only for serfs. The Cistercians, under the authority of St. Bernard (of whom we shall speak in the history of France), endeavoured to restore, in this respect, the ancient discipline; but the monks soon learned to escape from the drudgery by abandoning it to lay brothers. Of lay brothers there is no mention before the eleventh century. St. Giovanni Gualbert was the first to admit them into his monastery of Vallombrosa. The reason of this distinction is evident enough: contrary to their original destination, the monks were now in orders, or candidates for them. They were, consequently, compelled not only to pray, but to read and study; they found that they had absolutely no time for manual labour, yet, as it was become necessary both for the subsistence of the house, and by the will of monastic legislators, they resolved to admit a description of brothers who should not know how to read,— such were nearly all the laymen of the middle ages, even nobles and princes, — and on whom should devolve the servile arts. From this time the monks, accustomed to live at their ease, regarded the lay brothers as mere domestics, and themselves as domini, or masters, — a title which they had no scruple to assume, but which had never before been applied to any one of their community, save the abbot. That many and great divisions would exist between the two distinct classes of the same community was inevitable; nor was the power of the general of the order always sufficient to reconcile them: sometimes it was necessary to invoke the supreme authority of the pope. But good often arises from evil. If the

monks were thus freed from corporeal toil, they had so much the more leisure for literary and scholastic pursuits: they did not always confine themselves to theology, but spread into the boundless fields of history and science. To them we are indebted for most of the historic knowledge we possess; for, though the secular clergy could boast of many eminent literary men, yet they were few in comparison with the writers among their monastic brethren. Medicine, too, was cultivated by the latter with great success; nor shall we censure the pursuit, when we consider that the knowledge thus acquired was at the service of the poor. These facts alone, to say nothing of the hospitality which has at all times so nobly distinguished the monastic orders, or of the religious benefits which they have conferred on the world, must render the institution itself dear to humanity. We here speak of the ancient orders; for of the different orders of friars who were called into existence from the thirteenth century downwards, it is impossible to speak in terms of sufficient reprobation,—not that even they have not produced men as distinguished for learning as for piety; but the benefits conferred by the few have been far more than counterbalanced by the mischiefs of the majority. But the great evil was the multiplication of religious orders. In 1215, the fourth Lateran council prohibited the invention of new orders, for fear, says the canon, lest a too great diversity should produce confusion in the church. The contests between the Franciscans and Dominicans, when each, to recommend its own institute to the public, invented such monstrous fables, — fables which leave far behind them the inventions of ordinary romance*, — when, to increase their too ample stores, the members of each duped the living, and wheedled or terrified the dying into considerable bequests, prove that the fathers of the council were not

* The Acta Sanctorum of Bollandus, and the Flores Seraphici of D'Aremberg, may be taken as fit specimens of this species of composition.

short-sighted. But the prohibition was useless, so long as the pope was left with power to confirm the views of any moonstruck fanatic or plausible knave who aimed at reputation while living, and canonisation after death. The council of Lyons renewed the prohibition; yet, as it had the folly to leave the papal prerogative untouched, all was useless. In the sequel, the same order often split into two, — one party wishing to retain its ancient discipline, another to adopt such improvements as experience should dictate. The exemption of friars from episcopal jurisdiction, their submission to their own superiors only, or the pope, was no less mischievous, since many irregularities would escape correction, and none would be corrected severely enough. Thus, if a secular clergyman committed fornication, his bishop suspended him for years, or even for life; if the delinquent were a friar, he escaped with a month's seclusion in his monastery. Then the friars, who forced themselves into every parish, and usurped the seats of penance, were much more indulgent, and consequently more popular, than the resident clergy: in fact, to the great mortification of the latter, they were almost the only confessors in a multitude of parishes. Hence the enmity borne towards them, and indeed to all the regular clergy, by the seculars, who in reality had and have but too much reason to complain of the invasion of their legitimate office by these meddling, often profligate, vagabonds.* — Such was the monastic church during the middle ages: the secular was deformed by still greater abuses. Those which arose from lay-patronage, from superstition, especially from the worship of relics and images, from pilgrimages, from reputed miraculous powers, from the interference of ecclesiastical dignitaries in temporal affairs, from accumulated riches, from the

* "Malditos Frayles!" we have often heard from the reverend *curas* of the peninsula. "What," exclaimed a more moderate one, "can these itinerant vagabonds know of the spiritual wants of my flock, when I, who am continually among them, have so much difficulty in ascertaining the peculiar state of each conscience?"

decline of learning, from the corruption of the sacerdotal order, we have already described in the first chapter. It is true, indeed, that when the secular clergy lived in community, there was more propriety of conduct, since their eyes were continually on each other, and every deviation, not merely from morals, but from external decorum, was sure to be punished. The exact period when they, in imitation of the monks, adopted the cœnobial life, cannot be ascertained; but St. Eusebius of Vercelli is the first whom ecclesiastical history mentions as subjecting his clergy to such a life. That they followed a written rule is manifest from their name, *canons;* but probably it consisted only of a few general directions. In the seventh century, however, St. Chrodegang, bishop of Metz, reduced the observances to a more elaborate system, which was soon received by the canons of all cathedrals. That prelate enjoined not merely the exercises of piety, but self-instruction, the instruction of the ignorant and poor, and the education of youths intended for the priesthood. So superior were these canons, both in learning and religion, to the rest of the clergy, that many national councils called on the bishops to ordain them only,—wherever they could be procured,—for the rural churches. It is, however, manifest, that this rule of St. Chrodegang could not apply to the great bulk of the clergy, since in the rural districts, which could scarcely maintain a single priest, the communal life was impossible. To the causes of clerical decline before noticed, we might add many more; a few must suffice. The change in discipline occasioned by the false decretals attributed to the early popes in the collection of Isidore, and by succeeding constitutions, had a lamentable effect. By them an important case could be decided, no bishop sentenced, no provincial council held, without the sanction of the pope; though, in the earliest ages of the church, the bishops, in virtue of their jurisdiction, were the judges of every thing that concerned their own dioceses; in council, of all the dioceses

in the kingdom, as well as of one another. Instances of this are so common in the ecclesiastical history of every country, that we may be excused for omitting them. On the same fictitious authority rested most other abuses of discipline, such as the translation of bishops — the curse of any church which adopts it; the creation of new sees; the subjection of many bishops to one metropolitan, though in the ancient church the prelates were all equal in dignity; and the interminable decision of appeals from every see throughout Christendom. In extraordinary cases, indeed, where local prejudice or partiality existed, there would be less harm in such appeals; but even in these cases they were unnecessary, as a national council would have been above suspicion, and more likely to be acquainted with the facts than a distant tribunal. The same decretals, by teaching the immunity of the clergy in regard to the secular tribunals, by so degrading the royal prerogative of justice as to render the clergy the dominant order in the state, was still more mischievous; since it led to the laxity of clerical morals, and to the terrible disputes which, in every European country, have agitated the mind of the people. Another galling consequence of these absurd pretensions, — of the despotic power which the pope arrogated over the church universal, — was the imposition of new and oppressive taxes, to support at Rome an unbecoming splendour. A worse was the persecution of all who ventured to hold opinions in faith differing from those of the infallible head. The wisest and best bishops in the primitive church were hostile to persecution; the penance for heresy was simply excommunication, — a penance which was found amply sufficient from the apostolic times to the worst period of the middle ages. Isolated instances, indeed, of bloody intolerance were to be found under the later emperors; but we read that these instances were condemned, and their authors shunned. Thus, neither St. Ambrose nor St. Martin would communicate with

Ithacius, or with the other bishops joined with him in procuring the condemnation of the Priscillianists. From the twelfth century, the fires of persecution began to burn; in the thirteenth they blazed in all their fury, fed as they were by intolerant popes, and by hellish friars,—by the Alexanders and the Domingos of the time.*

III. THE STATE OF LITERATURE AND OF MENTAL KNOWLEDGE will not require so much exposition as that of the church; partly because, during the dark ages, books worthy of notice were exceedingly rare; and partly because, in the lives of some saints, we have already touched on the subject. We can only give a hurried glance at the general intellectual state of Italy during the periods least known—omitting the *vernacular* authors who have an European reputation—occasionally mentioning the most distinguished works.

In the division of these periods we follow that most learned, most elaborate, but seldom most judicious of guides, the abbate Tiraboschi.†

568 to 774. The intellectual state of Italy under the Lombards is not of the most brilliant order. It was not, indeed, to be expected, that during the interminable wars between them and the Greeks, the devastations which they committed, and their utter contempt for every thing except brute force, much regard would be paid either to letters or their cultivators. If some writers are to be credited, the whole end of these barbarians was to exterminate every thing liberal; while, on the contrary, others have as zealously vindicated them from the charge: both appeal to antiquity in support of their re-

* The above long paragraph is founded on Baronius and Raynaldus, Annales Ecclesiastici; on Fleury, Histoire Ecclésiastique; on the Acts of the National and Œcumenical Councils; on the histories of the Religious Orders; and on the Lives of Saints in the collections of Bollandus and Mabillon, in volumes too numerous to be cited.

† Tiraboschi, Storia della Letteratura Italiana, ed. Milano, 1823, in 16 thick vols. 8vo. For the vernacular popular literature of Italy,—for such names, especially, as are known to every reader (such as Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, Ariosto, &c.)—see Sismondi's History of the Literature of Southern Europe.

spective opinions. Thus the testimony of Paul the Deacon is adduced by Muratori and Denina, to prove their moderation; that of St. Gregory the Great, by Tiraboschi and others, to expose the ferocity of the Lombards. There can be no doubt, that though the prejudiced declamations of St. Gregory must be received with considerable abatement, his character of that people is more just than that of their countryman the Deacon. That "cities were sacked, fortresses levelled, churches burned, monasteries of both sexes destroyed, the fields wasted, and the country abandoned, so that wild beasts supplied the place of men," are facts which no sophistry can invalidate. It is equally true, that many thousands of the conquered inhabitants were led, as the same pope informs us, with ropes round their necks, into France, to be there sold as slaves; but it is not true that they were wounded or maimed,—for that would have been senseless policy. The ferocity of the Lombards, joined to an ignorance so barbarous as to have no respect for the noblest arts of life, and to the misery of the population ruined by wars so savage and long-continued, were more than sufficient to banish the spirit of letters. Yet there are some men, who, in the most adverse circumstances, will cling to a favourite study with a tenacity not inferior to that with which we cling to life itself. All books were not destroyed; some whole libraries escaped; some men were courageous enough to teach; and youths intended for the ecclesiastic state were anxious enough to learn, even in the places which had most fully experienced the ravages of the barbarians: in fact, they themselves were Christians; their priests had, consequently, need of some instruction, and were bound to impart it to others. In *sacred literature*, the most honourable, and indeed the only, place must doubtless be assigned to pope St. Gregory, to whose life and works we have already sufficiently adverted. Other writers on the subject there doubtless were; but such of their works as have survived are not worth perusal;

nor shall we draw them from the oblivion which they so justly merit. In *polite literature* we have scarcely more names. That *Venantius Fortunatus*, the only poet we shall mention, was an Italian, and educated at Ravenna, has been established beyond dispute: he left Italy on the eve of the Lombard invasion, and hastened to Poitiers, where he was ordained, first, priest, and subsequently bishop of that church; and we may infer the degree of respect in which he was held from his intimacy with St. Radegonde, St. Gregory of Tours, and other distinguished individuals of that period. Of his works, contained in fifteen books, by far the greater portion consists of poetry, distinguished rather for piety than for elegance. His Vita S. Martini, the versification of which appears exceedingly uncouth even for that age, was written, he informs us, from gratitude to that saint, whose intercession had restored to him the use of his eyes, when human art laboured in vain. The Lombards, too, could boast of one historian of some note, *Paulus Warnefredus* *, whose work, De Gestis Longobardorum, is one of the most valuable in the whole range of historic literature relating to the middle ages. That he was the friend and chancellor of the last Lombard king, and that, after the destruction of that kingdom by the Franks, he took holy orders as deacon of Forojuliensis, have been abundantly proved by his countrymen. He appears, however, subsequently to have opened a school of grammar, rhetoric, and Greek; to have visited France by order of Charlemagne; and to have assumed the monastic habit at Monte-Casino. Besides the history just mentioned, he composed many poetical pieces, some letters, and some opuscula, which, however brief, obtained the highest praise from his contemporaries,—not from Italians only, but from such judges as Alcuin and Charlemagne; but surely such

* As Paul lived to the close of the eighth century, he is classed by Tiraboschi among the writers of the succeeding period; but as a Lombard, living under several native kings, he may surely be included in the present paragraph.

encomiums as the following (that of Petrus Pisanus) we should not have expected:—

> Græca cerneris Homerus,
> Latina Virgilius;
> In Hebræa quoque Philo,
> Tertullus in artibus;
> Flaccus crederis in metris,
> Tibullus eloquio.

In reply to this bombast, he himself has doubtless given us a juster measure of his learning:—

> Græcam nescio loquelam,
> Ignoro Hebraicam:
> Tres aut quatuor in scholis
> Quas didici syllabas,
> Ex his mihi est ferendus,
> Manipulus adorea.

From this precious specimen of his poetical powers, few readers will regret to hear that most of his Greek effusions are lost. In the *sciences* and the *liberal arts* there is not one name preserved by time. In short, the period of the Lombard domination is so barren, that, except the two or three writers we have mentioned, and two or three obscure monastic chroniclers, it produced not one literary name. Of course we do not, like Tiraboschi, reckon foreigners who resided in Italy among the celebrated men of the country. If St. Columbanus of Ireland, and the monk Ambrosio Antpertus of Gaul, are received by him, why not St. Benedict Biscop? why not Alcuin? why not St. Boniface? why not a score besides of every nation who visited, and for some time abode in Italy?*

During the next period, viz. from Charlemagne to the death of the emperor Otho III. in 1002, the field of literature is somewhat less barren. This greatest of the Carlovingian princes was a constant patron of letters, not in France only, but in every part of his extended dominions. That he founded the uni- 774 to 1002.

* S. Gregorius Magnus, Dial. lib. iii. cap. 38. Paulus Diaconus, De Gestis Longobardorum, lib. ii. cap. 13. et 32. Muratori, Annali d'Italia, an. 568, &c. Baronius, Annales Ecclesiastici, an. 590—604. Venantii Fortunati Carmina et Opuscula, passim. Tiraboschi, Storia della Letteratura Ital. lib. ii. et iii. (variis capitulis).

versity of Pavia, is admitted by the general consent of Italian historians; that he rewarded with a munificent hand all who exhibited any considerable portion of intellectual merit, is manifest from the numerous writers of his time. But the edifice of which he thus laid the foundation, was left unfinished through the quarrels of his worthless descendants, who filled most of Europe with bloodshed, and so unsettled the minds of men, that literary studies were, of necessity, neglected. The evil, indeed, is not attributable to them alone: the Greeks in one part of Italy, the Saracens in another, the Hungarians in a third, and the ambitious native lords in all parts, added their share to the existing mass of agitation. Still some schools continued to be frequented, some libraries escaped destruction, and some writers forgot their country's sorrows in the cultivation of the mind. In sacred literature we have, first, *Paulinus*, patriarch of Aquileia, who died in 804, and whom recent criticism has shown to be an Italian. Considerable confidence must have been placed in his theological acquirements, no less than in his orthodoxy, or he would not have been appointed to draw up a symbol of faith and the canons of the council of Forojuliensis, nor employed to combat the heresy of Felix bishop of Urgel, and Elipando bishop of Toledo.* That he was one of the most learned men of his age is indubitable, both from his works, a collection of which was published at Venice in 1437, and from the testimony, however pompous, and possibly exaggerated, of Alcuin: — Tuum est, O pastor electe gregis, et custos portarum civitatis Dei, qui clavem scientiæ potente dextera tenes — Philistæos — uno veritatis ictu conterere. Ad te omnium aspiciunt oculi, aliquid de tuo affluentissimo eloquio cœleste desiderantes audire, et ferventissimo sapientiæ sole, &c. Omitting Theodulfo bishop of Orleans, who, notwithstanding the assertions of Tiraboschi, was certainly a Spaniard, or at least an inhabitant of

* See the History of Spain and Portugal, vol. iv. p 305. CAB. CYC.

Septimania*, we have next *Andreo Agnello*, author of the Liber Pontificalis, or History of the Bishops of Ravenna; and *Anastasius Bibliothecarius*, author, or perhaps editor, of the Vitæ Romanorum Pontificum, from St. Peter to Nicolas I. — both of the ninth century. The former work is but a meagre catalogue; the latter is also meagre enough, but of exceeding value, as containing the earliest and most authentic account we have of the ancient popes, compiled from sources no longer extant. Of Anastasius we only know, that he was librarian to the holy see, and abbot of a monastery dedicated to Our Lady; that he was employed on an honourable embassy to Constantinople; and that he composed some minor pieces, as well as translated several from the Greek into the language of Rome. The same century produced two other writers, both named *John*, both bearing the title of *Deacon;* the one, author of a life of pope St. Gregory, the other of a succession of Neapolitan bishops; but neither they, nor three Sicilian writers of the same period, deserve even a passing notice. If *Atto* bishop of Vercelli was, as he certainly appears to have been, an Italian, he may be ranked among the most learned men of the country, — a fact sufficiently apparent from such of his works as have yet been published by Dachery and Mazzucchelli; especially from his comment on St. Paul's Epistles, and from two sermons. — In *poetry* there are some names, but certainly not one deserving of remembrance; and those in *history* are little better. Such meagre chroniclers as Andrew of Bergamo, Erchempert of Monte-Casino, and some anonymous ones of the duchy of Benevento, however useful their works may be in throwing some degree of light on a dark period, may be left in obscurity. *Liutprand*, who flourished in the tenth century, deserves a more honourable place: his history of his own times, and of his embassy to Constantinople, is superior in point of style to any historical work of the period, and is still more valuable for

* Masdeu, Historia Critica de España (España Arabe, lib. ii.).

its matter. He is, however, exceedingly severe against Berengarius, in whose service he had been, but who exiled him into Germany. He returned with Otho the Great, and died bishop of Cremona. — *Astronomy*, the *mathematics*, and *painting* were also cultivated in this dark age; but with so little success, that none of its cultivators was able to obtain notice even from his contemporaries. *

1002 to 1183. The third period of Italian literature, comprised between the death of Otho III. and the peace of Constance, in 1183, cannot be expected to exhibit much intellectual brilliancy, when we remember that this was the period in which the northern cities of Italy made their famous stand against the emperors; when in the centre the popes quarrelled with the temporal chiefs of Christendom, respecting the too famous investitures; when the south was a prey to Greeks, Saracens, and Normans. Through the efforts, however, of the emperors and the popes, these disasters were not wholly fatal to learning. According to Landulphus senior, that noble structure, the church of St. Ambrose at Milan, could, in the eleventh century, boast of two philosophical schools, which were well frequented, and the professors of which were supported, as in former times, by the liberality of the archbishops. Other cities, too, had similar establishments. Thus we read that St. Peter Damian, after studying at Faenza, repaired to Parma, which, according to the metrical biographer of the countess Matilda, was called, on account of its literary celebrity, Chrysopolis, or the Golden City. And though no university was yet, perhaps, established in Italy †, libraries appear to have become more common: that of the Vatican was guarded with care, as appears from the succession of its keepers. To commence, as before, with sacred literature, we have some

* Authorities: — The biographers of Charlemagne; the Dissertations of Muratori; and vol. iii. liv. 3. of Tiraboschi.

† The foundation of the university of Bologna was laid as early as the close of the eleventh, or the commencement of the twelfth century; but the era of its establishment should be that of the concessions made to it by the emperor and the pope.

doubts whether *Fulbert*, bishop of Chartres, was an Italian. That he was, is not only asserted by the great champion of his country's glory, Tiraboschi, but seems to be admitted by Mabillon and Fleury; yet, though the inferences drawn from certain detached passages of his own writings do not justify a confident assertion, Italy has at least as many apparent claims to the honour as France. His epistles, sermons, and other minor works, are evidence, that whatever might be the revolutions of the period, a brighter day was dawning. — A greater man was *Lanfranc*, archbishop of Canterbury, who was born at Pavia early in the eleventh century. Where he passed his youthful years, and, consequently, to what place he was chiefly indebted for his knowledge, is wrapt in much uncertainty: it is probable, however, that the honour must be assigned to some city of Italy, — most likely to Pavia or Bologna, — since, on his arrival in Normandy, he opened a school at Avranches. Subsequently he assumed the habit in the monastery of Bec, of which he became prior; but so far was he from burying his acquirements, that he instructed not only the monks, but strangers whom his fame led to that retirement. It is certain that he was one of the restorers of learning, and that his example had a considerable influence over both France and England. His first and not least useful employment was, by the collection of MSS., to correct the text not only of the fathers, but of the Holy Scriptures. Both before and after his elevation to the see of Canterbury (1070), — an elevation owing to his merit alone, — he distinguished himself in the service of the universal church. His treatise against Berengarius, his defence of the real presence in the eucharist, and his epistles, are admitted to be methodical, clear, and, for the period, elegant; and his statutes for the regulation of the English monasteries show that he was no less attached to discipline. But his influence was in one sense baneful: by maintaining the spiritual despotism of the pope, he did all he could to destroy the few remaining liberties of the

Anglican church. — Of still greater celebrity was *St. Anselm*, who was born in Lombardy in 1034; who, like the former, was first a monk, next prior of Bec, then head of the school there, and eventually archbishop of Canterbury (1093*), in the possession of which see he died in 1109. Like his predecessor, too, he laboured with success in correcting biblical MSS., in defence of the Catholic faith; and, like Lanfranc, in upholding the power of the pope at the expense of the crown, the immunities of the clergy at the expense of society in general. His perpetual disputes with William Rufus and Henry I. argue certainly for his disinterestedness; for his courage in defence of what he believed, however erroneously, to be just; and for his religious zeal; but they prove little in favour of his moderation. Not that he had no reason for complaint: that these rapacious kings should so long continue the vacancies in the rich sees and abbacies, for the sake of the revenues, was surely enough to excite the indignation of any churchman; and his opposition to such an abomination must be related to his everlasting honour; but the case was different in regard to the obnoxious immunities. It must, however, be urged in extenuation, that he contended for what he conscientiously believed to be binding on him, while his sovereigns acted against both conscience and reason. For an account of these long quarrels, we refer to the historians of the time, especially to the monk Eadmer, and William of Malmsbury.† His works, which are numerous, and chiefly relating to dogmatic theology, are distinguished for great acuteness, for a logical method, and for unusual clearness. He often, however, degenerates into mysticism,—the natural tendency of a mind so devoted to metaphysics; and he is fonder of scholastic subtleties than any author who preceded him. — About the middle of the twelfth century, we have the

* Four years after Lanfranc's death, during which period the see was vacant, through the rapacity of William Rufus, who enjoyed the revenue.

† A very reasonable account may be found in Mr. Turner's History of England during the Middle Ages, vol. i.

famous *Peter the Lombard*, whose origin was low enough, since his mother was a washerwoman. But in Roman Catholic countries, not even the lowest are debarred from the most liberal education.* Peter studied at Novara, until the bishop of Lucca sent him with a letter of introduction to St. Bernard†, in France. He prosecuted his studies at Rheims, and finished them at Paris, then by far the most celebrated place of education in Europe. Here his progress was so rapid, that he was soon appointed to a school in theology, to considerable church preferment, and, ere long, to the see of Paris. He died in 1160, before his mother, to whose comfort he dutifully administered.‡ Of his works, by far the most noted is his Book of Sentences, a complete system of theology, the numerous propositions of which are supported, not by his own reasoning, but by apt quotations from the Scriptures, the fathers, and the great doctors of the church. In this undertaking he exhibited great learning; nor does he want logical acuteness when he deduces one truth from another, making the consequence of one proposition the basis or predicate of another. But in his days criticism was little understood: his citations are not always from genuine sources; and he is often too speculative to be useful. But he has the glory, in conjunction with the famous Abailard, of having opened a new and interesting field of study, and of having excited others to labour in it more successfully than himself. Like Abailard, too, he fell into some heretical opinions, which were condemned by the holy see. Yet his Book of Sentences had the good fortune to be used as a text book in the schools of theology, and to be commented on by above two hundred writers, some the greatest doctors in the church. — Contemporary with

* Reflect on this, ye Protestant trustees of grammar schools, ye Protestant heads of our universities, ye bishops of the church of England!

† St. Bernard's life will be given in the history of France.

‡ The old woman, hearing of his elevation to the see of Paris, ventured to visit him, and, to do him honour, presented herself in a splendid habit; but he would not speak to her until she had divested herself of her unbecoming trappings, and resumed her former humble garments.

Peter were two other theologians, *Lodolf of Novara* and *Bernard of Pisa*, who, like him and their learned countrymen of the age, finished their studies at the university of Paris, where they afterwards became professors. The former distinguished himself in opposing the errors of Abailard; and in this respect he is said to have shown more acuteness than St. Peter Damian, whose life and works we have noticed in a preceding paragraph. In dogmatic divinity, and among the subtle writers of this period, must also be included the monk *Alberic*, the opponent of Berengarius; and *St. Bruno*, first bishop of Segni, next monk, and soon abbot of Monte-Casino, who wrote comments on several books of Scripture. This, indeed, may be termed the golden age of scholastic learning. *St. Anselm*, bishop of Lucca, a native probably of Milan; *Peter Grossolano*, archbishop of Milan, probably a Lombard; and *Bonizone*, bishop of Placenza, whose birth-place is unknown; contributed by their pens to the glory of their country. Of these, the first, who excelled in sanctity of manners, applied his whole attention to the exaltation of the holy see, to the inculcation of ascetic observances, and to the collection of such canons and decretals as favoured the new views entertained by the papal court. Of the second, nothing is known until 1100, when he is introduced on the stage of life in a wood, between Acqui and Savona, where he lived as a hermit, and where he was discovered by some messengers of Anselm archbishop of Milan. The messengers were so well pleased with the man, squalid as was his garb, that they took him with them to Savona, whither they were sent to open a chapter for the election of a bishop. Fortunately for him, he pleased the electors, who raised him to the dignity; and, in two years more, on the death of Anselm, he obtained — probably by simony — the archiepiscopal throne of Milan. But scarcely had he taken his seat, when he was expelled by his clergy and the people on a charge of simony; nor could the pope, nor even his own efforts at the head of a considerable

armed force, procure his restoration. During a visit to the Holy Land and Constantinople, from 1109 to 1114, he appears to have cultivated Greek literature with some success: in the Greek capital itself he wrote against the heresy of the Eastern church, relating to the procession of the Holy Ghost. He was answered by some learned Greeks,—even by Alexius Comnenus, the emperor; but on which side lay the honours of victory we shall not enquire. Of Bonizone we know little, except that he was killed by the schismatics of Placenza, and that most of his works are in MS. It is, however, asserted that these works, which chiefly relate to ecclesiastical discipline, are distinguished by learning and judgment. To this list of writers on sacred or ecclesiastical literature, we may add the monastic chroniclers, or biographers, of Farfa, Monte-Casino, and other religious communities, whose works, however meagre, are valuable, as affording us materials for ecclesiastical history, and as throwing incidental light on the manners and transactions of the times. Of these, the most celebrated is the Chronicon Sacri Monasterii Casinensis, by *Leo*, cardinal bishop of Ostia, and continued by Peter the Deacon: we may add, that it is a most useful auxiliary to Italian history. This continuator, who was much inferior to Leo, alike in learning, style, and manner, has left some other works, chiefly of an ascetic character, which are not likely to be disturbed. One exception there is—his biography of the illustrious men of Monte-Casino—which, from the light it casts on the literary history of Italy, has been drawn from its obscurity, and enriched with valuable notes. We might also add the biographers of the popes; but their productions, during the period under consideration, possess no degree whatever of literary merit. —In other branches of literature, the catalogue is much less considerable. That Greek began to be partially cultivated by some individuals with success, is indisputable: Aristotle, and some of the fathers, were translated into Latin.—In *poetry*, there are some names deserving of

notice. The exploits of the Normans, from their arrival to the death of Robert Guiscard, in five books, were sung by *Gulielmus Apuliensis,* — a work superior to the times: he undertook it at the command of pope Urban II., and of his superior, friend, and patron, Roger, the son of Robert, to whom it is inscribed. *Donizone,* a monk of Canossa, sung the praises of his sovereign, the celebrated countess Matilda; but his work is as inferior to the poetical relation of the war between the Milanese and the Comaschi, as adulation is to truth. In the history of that war, we have alluded to and quoted this latter poem, which may be regarded as one of the most curious monuments of the middle ages.* His name is unknown; but he was evidently a native of Como, and a contemporary. Not less patriotic, though certainly less poetical, than the Cumanus, was the *Carmen de Laudibus Bergami,* written by Moses of Bergamo, who appears to have flourished in the twelfth century, and who is represented as a man of great erudition; but he scarcely deserves more notice than the deacon of Pisa, who about the same time wrote a poem on the conquest of the Balearic isles by the united forces of Pisa and Catalonia.† —Of *historians,* there is a greater number. Thus, Milan had *Arnulphus,* the two *Landolphus,* surnamed for distinction the elder and younger, and *sire Raoul,* whose works we have quoted in the history of Lombardy; thus also Lodi had *Otho* and *Acerbo Morena;* Genoa had *Caffaro;* Naples had *Gaufredus Malaterre,* and *Alexander,* abbot of Telese; Benevento and Sicily had each several, whose works have been cited in the proper place. Of these writers, truth will award no higher praise than that of sincerity; their rudeness is excessive; they are confused for want of dates; yet, with all their defects, but for them we should be in absolute ignorance of Italian history in those dark ages. — In *philosophy,* we meet with other names than those of Lanfranc, St. Anselm, and the

* See page 34. of the present volume.
† See History of Spain and Portugal, vol. iii. (Counts of Barcelona.)

theologians before mentioned. Of an Italian philosopher named *John*, who disputed with great applause at Constantinople, we have some account by the princess Anna Comnena. That he was learned in Aristotle and Plato, is admitted by her; but where his arguments failed to convince, he had recourse to blows, and, as he was an athletic man, so effectually, that he was almost sure to conquer: in recompence, however, he always besought the pardon of those whom he thus belaboured. He taught some heresies; and the emperor Alexius, who had some regard for him, enjoined the patriarch to reclaim him: but the subtlety of the Italian exceeded even that of the Greek; the prelate was not only vanquished, but led into heresy too, to the great scandal of the people, who would have murdered him except for the interference of Alexius. Subsequently he recanted his errors, relapsed, and again recanted; and after various extraordinary freaks, he peaceably ended his days in his adopted country. Of his works, some are still extant in the Bibliothèque du Roi at Paris; in the library of St. Mark at Venice; and in the imperial collection at Vienna. Whether another philosopher, named *Gerrard*, who resided at Toledo, was a Spaniard or an Italian, has given rise to much controversy; but the evidence, such as it is, is certainly in favour of the latter conjecture. That he translated several works from Arabic into Latin, and was one of the most learned as well as most laborious writers of his time, is apparent from his MSS. still extant. —During the eleventh century, *astronomy* and *medicine* began to be cultivated in Italy; but to no great extent: *music, architecture,* and *painting,* were somewhat more so: but our most interesting enquiry regards jurisprudence.*

* Bollandistæ, Acta Sanctorum; Mabillon, Annales Bened.; necnon Acta SS. Bened., cum Annal. Ecclesiast. Baronii, et Fleury, Histoire Ecclésiastique (in vols. too numerous to be cited). Milo Crispinus, Vita Lanfranci (in Mab. Acta SS. Ben. tom. ix. et Boll. tom. vi. Mail). Eadmer, Vita S. Anselmi, passim. Riccobaldus Ferrariensis, Pomarium Revennatis Ecclesiæ, p. 124. Gallia Sacra, tom. vii. p. 67. Leo Ostiensis, &c. Chronicon Mon. Casin. (in vita S. Brunonis). Petrus Diaconus, De Viris Illustribus

1002 to 1183. That *jurisprudence*, both civil and canonical, flourished earlier, and has always been more successfully cultivated, in Italy than in any other country, — not excepting Salamanca, rendered so illustrious by the labours and talents of Alonso el Sabio, — is known to every scholar: that it should be so studied, may be explained by the state of Italian society. On the one side, the emperors were contending for sovereignty; on the other, the great cities for independence; and it was natural that during such a contest the minds of men should be drawn towards the pretensions of both. In fact, from a much earlier period, there had been a moral struggle between the spirits of two different codes. The Lombards and Franks had, indeed, permitted the conquered inhabitants to choose the code under which they would live; and while in Lombardy generally they inclined to that of the victors, in the exarchate, the Pentapolis, Tuscany, &c., they adhered, like the Romans, to that of Justinian; but yet there were many thousands in Lombardy who adopted the Roman, just as in the other provinces there were many who lived under the northern laws; and the same permission was extended to the Salic and the German. Down to the twelfth, and even the thirteenth century, we meet with signatures to contracts and diplomas, specifying the particular code to which the parties were subject: thus, "Ego N. N. qui professus sum ex natione meâ lege vivere Longobardorum," &c. — "Ego N. N. qui professus sum ex natione meâ vivere lege Romanâ," &c. We even find that husband and wife were sometimes subject to different laws; as in regard to William, marquis, and Julita, marchioness of Monferrat: — "Nos itaque prædicti jugales qui professi sumus ex natione nostrâ lege vivère Salicâ, sed ego Julita ex natione meâ lege vivere Alemannorum," &c. Here we find four distinct codes, all obligatory, and the knowledge of all

Casin. cap. 34. Carusius, Præf. in Bibliothecam Siculam, tom. i. & ii. Muratori, Præf. et Dissert. in Scriptores Rerum Italicarum, tom. iv. v. vi. ix.; and above all Tiraboschi, Storia della Letter. Ital. tom. iii. lib. 4.

essential to the public advocate; or how could he conduct any case where the parties could invoke provisions so various? It is, indeed, true, that by far the greater portion of the people were subject either to the Justinian or the Lombard code; and this fact at once disproves the random assertion of some writers, — that after the irruption of the northern barbarians, the Roman jurisprudence was buried in the same grave with Roman independence. In support of their opinion, they adduce the well-known relation, how, in 1135, a copy of the Pandects being discovered at Amalfi, that jurisprudence was restored by the emperor Lothaire II., and its knowledge soon spread throughout Europe. That such a MS. was then found is probable enough, though no writer mentions it until two centuries after the event; but the inference attempted to be drawn from the circumstance, — that no vestige of the Roman laws was previously to be recognised, — is at variance with the whole tenor of Italian history. On the contrary, it has been clearly proved that the civil law, as contained in the Codex and Novellæ especially, were studied in Italy from the seventh century to the tenth: in one writer, too, we find allusion to the Institutes; and one of the eighth distinctly mentions the Pandects. We may add, that the lives of many saints, — sources of information too often neglected by the general historian, — confirm the statement. Nor is there more accuracy in the assertion, that though these studies might be prosecuted in the eighth and ninth centuries, they were unknown in the tenth and eleventh, — until 1137, the period of the alleged discovery at Amalfi. That, among other names which might be added, St. Peter Damian, St. Bruno, Lanfranc, and St. Anselm — all prior to that period — were more than moderately versed in the ancient jurisprudence, is indisputable: two of them taught it with applause. However conflicting the statements of writers actuated more by prejudice than knowledge, the truth is evident enough: the civil law never ceased to be studied, but it was much more studied from the twelfth century

deformed through want of criticism; nor could they any more boast of method in the arrangement than of judgment in the selection. On contemplating the chaotic character of preceding compilations, Gratian formed the design of reducing ecclesiastical jurisprudence to a system no less methodical than the civil. In this labour he exhibited great erudition; but, unfortunately, he, too, cited the false decretals as canonical authority; he could not separate the supposititious from the authentic works of the fathers, and he committed errors without number. But with all these heavy defects, — perhaps it was the more esteemed for them, since they tended to exalt the papal power, — it was eagerly received by the churchmen of all Europe, and it became as much the code of ecclesiastical law as the Justinian Codex of the civil. We may add, that of both, *summæ*, or condensations, were speedily formed by the professors, who in the sequel added glosses, calculated rather to darken than to elucidate.*

1193 to 1300. The fourth period of Italian literature, extending from the peace of Constance to the year 1300, is much more prolific than all the preceding. At first view, indeed, considering the wars between the Guelfs and the Ghibelins, between the popes and the emperors, between the Normans and Aragonese of Sicily and the French princes of Naples, this period would appear too agitated to permit the possibility of literary merit; but, fortunately, of the sovereigns who thus contended for empire, some were men of education, and all anxious to encourage it in others. The two Frederics, Manfred and Conrad, the two Charleses of Anjou, Azzo of Este, pope Innocent III. and his immediate successors, were, though not in equal degrees, the con-

* Muratori, Dissertazione sopra l' Antichite Italiane, tom. iii. diss. 44., tom. iv. diss. 45., tom. ii. p. 279.; necnon Annali d'Italia, an. 1135—1167.; cum Scriptor. Rerum Italic. tom. xxiii. p. 341 Baronius, Annales Ecclesiastici, tom. xviii. & xix, sub iisdem annis, et ad an. 1198, passim. Sigonius, De Regno Italico, lib. xi. an. 1137. Anonymus, De Bello Mediol. adv. Cumenos, v. 211. & 1848. Rodericus Frisingensis, De Rebus Gestis Fred. I. lib. i. cap. 27., et lib. ii. cap. 5. Heineccius, Historia Juris Civilis, lib. i. c. 6. f. ccccxii—ccccxvii. And, above all, my old friend Tiraboschi, Storia della Lett. tom. ii. lib. 4. cap. 7.

stant friends of letters. The university of Bologna was found insufficient for the wants of so many students; first that of Padua, next that of Naples, then that of Vercelli, subsequently those of Ferrara and Placenza, — omitting the public schools established in other great cities, — bear the most honourable evidence to the spirit of the age and the patronage of the great. For the multiplication of books each of these abodes of science maintained a competent number of scribes, assiduously occupied in their labour: even women were hired; or they voluntarily undertook it, in consideration of the reward for the transcription of any MS.; and they learned, not merely to copy, but to illustrate the MSS. in a style of splendour. — In *sacred literature*, the abbot Joachim of Calabria wrote largely on the Scriptures; but he is more celebrated for his pretended gift of prophecy. In his commentaries on the prophets and the Apocalypse, he is allowed to have predicted things which really happened relating to Naples and Sicily, but which any one might have foreseen: he made no pretensions to the prophetic character, nor was he regarded as possessing it by his contemporaries: in fact, he was a shrewd observer; but shrewdness is not prophecy, and the abbot is as often wrong as right in his vaticinations. Nor was he orthodox in his belief: his notions on the Trinity were condemned in the Lateran council of 1215. — A much greater man — in fact, the most wonderful man since the days of Aristotle — was *St. Thomas Aquinas*, born in 1225, on the family estates of Aquino, in the Campania of Naples. By his father, count Landolf, he was placed at an early age in the monastery of Monte-Casino, where, at the instance of the abbot, who foresaw his future eminence, he was transferred to the university of Naples, already flourishing through the enlightened patronage of Frederic II. The ardour with which he pursued his studies, and his devout temper of mind, made his parents expect, that if he entered the church he would speedily arrive at its highest dignities; and it was not without mortification

that they learned, in 1243, the fact of his having assumed the habit in the poor and despised order of St. Dominic. His mother hastened to Naples, in the hope of reclaiming him; but the friars, proud of a convert so illustrious by his birth, despatched him towards Rome. On his way, however, he was overtaken by his brothers, whom the countess sent in pursuit of him, and confined to close imprisonment in the castle of Rocco Secca. Here every means were taken to detach him from the cloister, and to draw him into the world. One day, we are told, a beautiful girl was sent into his chamber; and such were her efforts to inflame him with concupiscence, that he would certainly have yielded, had he not desperately seized a flaming brand from the hearth, and expelled her. With the same brand he made a cross on the wall, and kneeling before it, vowed virginity to God. Threats and ill-usage were tried to as little purpose: in fact, his family had little reason to rejoice at his seclusion, for he prevailed on one of his sisters, like him, to renounce the world; (she became abbess in the convent of Santa Maria di Capua;) and he would probably have persuaded others, had not the threats of the pope, and the remonstrances of his order, procured his liberation after a confinement of about twelve months. From Rome he proceeded, with the fourth general of his order, John the Teutonic, to Paris and Cologne: in the latter place, he had the advantage of studying theology under the famous Albert, better known as Albertus Magnus, who could easily divine his future glory. In 1253, he began, as bachelor, to explain the Book of Sentences of Peter the Lombard, under another friar as doctor. In 1256, he received the necessary licence to lecture as doctor himself, but not his degree,—a slight offered not to his talents, which were known to be splendid, but to a dispute which then existed between the university of Paris and his order: the dispute being settled by the authority of the pope, the following year he was admitted to his grade. His first treatise was a defence of his order,

and its fundamental points of discipline, against the attacks of the university and other enemies,—enemies so numerous as to threaten its destruction: this treatise was distinguished for great ability, and no little sophistry; but it served its purpose, by disposing the learned to regard the friars preachers with more respect. In 1260, he was removed to Rome, where he opened a school of theology, and where he taught many years; but the universities of Paris and Naples urging him to take a professor's chair, he preferred the latter, and in Naples he passed the few remaining years of his life. That he conscientiously assumed the spirit with the vows of his order, is evident from his refusing all ecclesiastical dignities, especially the archbishopric of Naples. In fact, his life was one continued abstraction; absorbed alike by study and devotion; regardless of the congregation to which he preached, probably insensible of its presence,—he seemed a personification of pure intellect unembarrassed with the properties of matter. In 1274, being summoned by Urban IV. to aid with his vast erudition the council of Lyons, he fell sick on the way, and died as a Christian philosopher ought to die, in the monastery of Fossa Nova, in the forty-ninth year of his age, in the full vigour of his faculties. How this great man could compose so many and so extensive works in so short a life, is wonderful. He is said to have done more than Julius Cæsar,—to have dictated to three or even four scribes at the same time. He slept little, and ate less; his prayers and fasts were incessant,—austerities which doubtless shortened his life. Wherever he met with a scriptural passage which he could not comprehend, he refrained from food, betook himself to prayer, and afterwards patiently meditated until the light of truth dawned on his mind. Of his frequent abstraction we have an amusing anecdote.—Dining one day with the king of France,—an honour which he had vainly sought to decline,—he suddenly started from his reverie, and striking the table with vehemence, exclaimed, — "This is fatal to thine heresy,

Manes!" His prior, who sat next him, pulled his habit, saying, "Doctor, thou art in the king's presence!" but several pulls were necessary to make him sensible where he was, and demand pardon of the monarch. St. Louis good-naturedly called for his secretary, lest the idea should be lost. His simplicity was equal to his vast capacity: his discourses from the pulpit were exceedingly plain; he saw no use in a sermon unless it tended to edification, and how could it edify unless it were understood? His heart was no less estimable than his head: lest his continual abstraction of mind should prove injurious to the affections of his nature or to devotional feeling, he at stated intervals occupied himself in works of charity, and in the perusal of books of practical religion. Of his numerous works, consisting of scriptural expositions, dogmatical and philosophical treatises, his "Summa Theologiæ," and his "Quæstiones," are probably the most splendid monuments of his powers. He has always been the admiration of Europe, — we mean of *learned* Europe, — for by none except the learned can he be appreciated. Well might Erasmus say, that he was not only the most erudite man of his age, but that nobody *since* could equal him in erudition, diligence, or genius; and well, in our own days, might a man even more learned than Erasmus pass on him an eulogium equally high.* — Of *St. Buonaventura*, who flourished at the same time with this *Doctor Angelicus*, we have before spoken.† If to these we add Orlando of Cremona, Giovanni of Parma, Egidio of Rome, Agostino of Ancona, and Jacopo of Viterbo, we shall have mentioned all in this branch of literature who are deserving of notice. Whether Giovanni (Johannes Parmensis), general of the Friars Minors, who, on the charge of favouring the heretic Joachim, was deposed from his dignity and confined to a monastery, was author of an impious book called *Evangelium Æternum*, has given rise to much controversy: from the guilt, however, of such a production, he has been satisfactorily vindicated by re-

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* Southey in his Vindiciæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ.

cent ecclesiastical writers, whose arguments are fairly exposed by Tiraboschi.*

In respect to *philosophy*, the period under consideration has little to strike us beyond what is exhibited in the works of the Doctor Angelicus. The schools were now beginning to study the dialectics of Aristotle, of which translations appear to have existed half a century before his time; other of the Stagyrite's wonderful productions were translated by himself at the express instance of Urban IV.; and more were commented by him. Campero of Novaro studied physics, the mathematics, and astronomy, with success: by Leonardo Fibonnacci, the Arabic numbers, which had long been used in Spain, were introduced into Italy: astrology and optics were also cultivated. In *medicine*, we meet with some good names; in *jurisprudence*, many more. In *history*, we have Godfrey of Viterbo, Sicard of Cremona, Giovanni of Messina, Riccardo de St. Germano, Matteo Spinelli, Nicolo de Jamsilla, Sabas Malaspina, Bartolomeo de Neocastro, Ricordano Malaspini, and some inferior chroniclers. — In this period, the vernacular *poetry* of continental Italy had its rise;—in Sicily, it existed before, and had probably been derived as much from the Saracens of that island as from the troubadours of Provence. But the origin and progress of Italian poetry have been so ably treated by a well-known author, Sismondi, in his "Histoire de la Littérature du Midi de l'Europe," that we will not dwell on it in this place. Our present object is to direct the reader's attention to such authors and works as are less known, and of which the knowledge is less accessible.† 1188 to 1300.

The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were as superior to the thirteenth, as the thirteenth to those which

* Raynaldus, Annales Ecclesiastici, an. 1199—1270, passim. Bollandistæ, Acta Sanctorum, Die Martis vii. in Vitâ S. Thomæ Aquinatis, Auctore Gulielmo de Thoceo, cap. 1—7. The "Processus" and "Miracula" of this saint occupy near 100 pages of the Acta SS. Fleury, Histoire Ecclésiastique, tom. xvii. & xviii. Du Boulay, Historia Universitatis Parisiensis, tom. iii. (variis locis). Erasmus, Comment. in Epist. ad Romanos, p. 244. Tiraboschi, Storia della Lett. tom. iv. lib. 2. cap. 1.

† Chiefly the same authorities. The admirable work of Sismondi has

1300 to 1500. had preceded it. The princes of Italy, great and small, were unanimous in the encouragement of literature and science; hence new universities were founded, the former ones enlarged; libraries multiplied; and, with them, men of learning, to so great an extent, that, in a work of this kind, the bare enumeration becomes impossible. In sacred literature, however, if the number of writers was so greatly increased, none could be compared with St. Thomas Aquinas. In the other sciences was more exactness, a better taste, and more learning. Of this fact, let Cardan be an illustration. The peculiar character of the age was *classical;* the remnants of heathen antiquity were brought to light, and studied with unequalled ardour. Heathen lore is to be found in every writer and on every subject, from Dante to Ariosto. It is fortunate alike for our limits and disposition, that the period under consideration has been analysed by the philosophic and eloquent Sismondi, to whose work every reader must have recourse, that desires to be fully acquainted with the vernacular literature of Italy: a subject which we never proposed to discuss. It is no less fortunate that the immortal productions of the Italian *muse,*—the most glorious boast of the country,—have been translated into our language, and read by all who have any admiration for genius. The sublime and terrific Dante, the greatest poet since the days of Homer; the imaginative Ariosto, who in that power leaves all modern poets far behind him; to say nothing of Tasso, who does not fall within the sphere of the present compendium; or of Petrarch and others, who have little more than their versification to recommend them; would alone be sufficient to stamp Italy with the impress of poetical genius, more deeply —why should not the truth be acknowledged?—than

been translated into our language,—admirable, we mean, as regards the literature of France and Italy; for the Spanish part is unworthy of his fame. We do not say this in the way of condemnation; and, if we did, so great a man could not be hurt by it; but because he wanted, what he himself confesses he wanted, *materials.* With the few guides he had, it is wonderful he has done so well.—*Author.*

any country in Europe. That in Latin classical poetry, no less than the romantic, Italy is unrivalled, may be proved by Petrarch, by Politian, by Sannazzaro, and Poggio Bracciolini; that in history she had no superior, by Villani, Macchiavelli, and Guicciardini; and for invention, no less than for dry humour, she may proudly produce her Boccaccio. In works intended for theatrical representation, she is lamentably deficient: in this respect the glory must be assigned to Spain, England, and (in comedy) France.*

From the preceding imperfect glance at the intellectual state of Italy, it is evident that she has contributed her share to the general stock of European literature. The Italian equals the German in erudition, the Frenchman in liveliness, the Spaniard in genius. If we except the poets, the most glorious period of Italian intellect is the sixteenth century,—a period with which the present undertaking has no concern.

* Tiraboschi, Storia della Lett. tom. v. vi. & vii. passim. Sismondi, Histoire de la Littérature, tom. i. et ii. passim.

BOOK II.

SPAIN.*

CHAP. I.

POLITICAL AND CIVIL HITORY OF SPAIN.

711—1516.

I. HISTORY OF MOHAMMEDAN SPAIN. — KINGS OF CORDOVA.— THE ALMORAVIDES. — THE ALMOHADES. — GRANADA. — II. OF CHRISTIAN SPAIN. — LEON AND CASTILE. — NAVARRE. — CATALONIA. — ARAGON. — PORTUGAL.

I. *Mohammedan Spain.*

711 to 1516. THE kingdom of the Wisigoths had subsisted three centuries, under thirty-four sovereigns from Ataulphus to Roderic, when, in 711, it was destroyed by the Arabs under Tarik and Musa, and the country made to own the domination of Walid Abul Abbas, the caliph of Damascus. Great as was the carnage committed among the inhabitants, to exterminate them was beyond the power of man. By far the more numerous portion of the survivors quietly received the yoke; another portion were allowed to settle in Murcia, under their native prince Theodomir, guaranteed in the enjoyment of their own religion, judges, and laws, and subjected only to a moderate tribute; a third, consisting of the most resolute, the most patriotic, and the bravest members of

* We have in a former work (HISTORY OF SPAIN AND PORTUGAL, 5 vols., CAB. CYCLO.) been so full on the history and constitution of Spain, that, if we would preserve novelty in the present book, or at least in the present chapter, little is left us to say. We wish not to repeat ourselves; and we have no doubt that, besides introducing into the second chapter wholly new matter, we shall enable the reader to take a new view of the subject. Every object has two sides at least; if we regard one only, the fault is our own.

the Wisigothic community, fled to the almost inaccessible fastnesses of the Asturias, where, as their numbers increased, they were able not only to defend themselves, but to make harassing irruptions into the neighbouring provinces of Old Castile and Leon.*

During somewhat more than forty years, Spain was governed by emirs, who were themselves dependent on those of Western Africa. Their distance from Damascus, the ambition of the other Mohammedan chiefs, the dissensions of the various Mohammedan tribes, who, coming from so many different parts of Asia and Africa, preserved their local predilections, gave rise to perpetual changes in the government, and, what was much worse, to perpetual civil wars among themselves. These dissensions were imbittered by a great revolution in the Mohammedan world,—the sceptre of the vicar of the prophet of God having, by an odious usurpation, been transferred from the house of Omeya to that of Abbas; as each house had its partisans in the peninsula, there was little prospect of tranquillity, yet every one was complaining of the unsettled state of things, when the scheiks secretly assembled at Cordova, to devise means for the union of the people, and for the consolidation of the executive power. It was high time; divisions every where distracted the vast empire of the caliph; the arms of the Mohammedans had signally failed in Gaul; and the Christians of the Asturias were already too strong to be expelled from their positions. By unanimous consent, it was resolved to elect a sovereign entirely independent of the East: the choice fell on Abderahman, a prince of the Omeyas, who, with difficulty, had fled from the massacre of his family, and was then living with one of the desert tribes of Mauritania. The young prince accepted the dignity; landed in 755 in Andalusia, was joined by a multitude of followers, and enabled to subdue all whom attachment to the Abbassides, or their own ambition, rendered averse to his recognition. Lord of about nine tenths of the peninsula, he fixed the seat of his empire

711 to 1492.

* See History of Spain and Portugal, vol. I. page 226, &c.

at Cordova, where his successors continued to reign the recognised sovereigns of all Mohammedan Spain, and soon of Western Africa, until the year 1030. Of this long period a considerable portion was glorious: Hixem I., indeed, the successor of Abderahman I., who reigned from 787 to 796, Alhahem (796—821), and Abderahman II. (821—850), had the mortification to see the Christians of the Asturias extend their conquests far into Portugal, and those of Catalonia escape from the yoke; and their immediate successors had the still greater one of seeing rebellion triumph for a season; but under Abderahman III. (912–961), Alhakem II. (961—976), and part of the reign of Hixem II., the glory of the Moslem arms was restored. Almanzor, the general and minister of Hixem, rescued from the Christians of Leon all their conquests, and reduced Barcelona; but being defeated in 1001, between Soria and Medina Celi, despair brought him to his end. His death opened the way for the successes of the Christians, and for the triumph of internal faction. Hixem was a feeble prince, and soon removed: other scheiks and princes contended for the empire; and the walis or governors of the great cities openly proclaimed their independence of Cordova, and established so many petty sovereignties in Seville, Carmona, Malaga, Algeziras, Granada, Valencia, Almeria, Denia, Huesca, Saragoza, Badajoz, and Toledo. Most of these states soon disappeared through the ambition of two kings—those of Toledo and Seville, especially of the latter; and after the conquest of Toledo (1085) by Alfonso VI. of Leon, there remained only Badajoz, Saragoza, Seville, Almeria, and Granada. As the independence of these five was menaced by the victorious Christians, they agreed, in an hour fatal for themselves, to invoke the aid of Yussef ben Taxfin, the founder of the dynasty of the Almoravides, in North-western Africa. In 1086, Yussef landed in Andalusia, and on the plains of Zalaca, between Badajoz and Merida, overthrew the forces of Alfonso, and was in consequence hailed as the saviour of his religion. But if he thus protected the country from the Christians,

he also snatched it from his allies, whom he openly reduced or basely betrayed, and seized (1094) the whole of Mohammedan Spain, Saragossa excepted, for himself. Thus, after a stormy existence of about sixty years, the petty kingdoms disappeared, and the country was again under the authority of a single master. During the reign of the *Almoravides* (1094—1148), Cordova continued to be the capital, but it was seldom visited by the emperors, who preferred residing in their African possessions; it was accordingly the residence of an emir or viceroy — generally a prince of the imperial family; — while the other cities were under the ancient government of the walis. This absence was unfavourable to the prosperity of Mohammedanism in Spain: on the Portuguese side, the count of that province almost annihilated a vast army of the Almoravides, and on the field of victory was proclaimed king; on the south, encroachments were continually made by the kings of Castile and Leon; and by the kings of Aragon the misbelievers were expelled from Saragossa. Nor was the government of the Africans agreeable to the Andalusians themselves, who had reason to complain of oppression, who detested the savage measures of their masters, and sometimes rose against them. Both in Africa and Spain their odious domination was ended by another multitude of religious enthusiasts, the *Almohades*, whose founder, Abdelmumen, succeeded to their empire. The dynasty of the Almohades (1148—1231), who also governed Mohammedan Spain through their walis, was no less hateful than that which they had subverted: by the splendid victory gained over their emperor Mohammed Abu Abdalla on the plains of Tolosa (1212) by the allied Christians, their power received a deadly blow. The victors pursued their success, while the local walis, partly by alliances with the enemy, partly by their own courage, aimed at independent sovereignty. But the walis had a resistless enemy in king San Fernando, who, uniting on his brow the crowns of Leon and Castile, resolved to pour his undivided

strength on the weakened possessions of the misbelievers. In a few campaigns he subdued most of Andalusia; while his brother king of Aragon subdued Valencia, and Murcia was soon added to the dominions of Castile. But one Mohammedan chief escaped the yoke, Mohammed ben Alhamar, who collected the remnant of the Mohammedan forces, and was powerful enough to preserve the country from Murcia to Gibraltar, and from the Guadalquivir to the Mediterranean. This space of country became a new kingdom, called, after its capital, Granada, which subsisted with much glory from 1238 to 1492, under twenty-two sovereigns, — notwithstanding all the assaults of Christian Spain, — with little diminution of its territory. For much of this security it was, doubtless, indebted to the incessant divisions in the Christian kingdom; similar divisions hastened its own destruction, which was at length effected by Fernando V., with the united forces of Aragon and Castile. After this important conquest, all the Mohammedans, except those who consented to receive Christianity, were expelled from Spain, nearly eight centuries after their descent under Tarik ben Zeyad.*

The condition of the Mohammedan community is not very clear, but it was probably superior to that of the Christian in other parts of Spain. If the king was absolute; if, from the accession of Abderahman III., he wished to be considered, and was actually proclaimed caliph — the spiritual, no less than the temporal, head of the true believers — yet his authority was restricted by the koran, the interpretation of which lay with the ministers of religion, who were at the same time ministers of justice. Next to him was the *hagib*, or prime minister; the real head, during the sovereign's pleasure,

* The authorities on which the above paragraph is founded are, the Arabian Fragments in the Bibliotheca of Casiri, tom. ii.; Condé, by Marlés; Histoire de la Domination des Arabes et des Maures en Espagne; tom. i. ii. iii.; the contemporary chroniclers of Spain, from Isidorus Pacensis to Hernando del Pulgar; the annalist Zurita; the general historians, Morales, Ferreras, and Masdeu. The names of the authors alone would occupy some pages: they may be seen in the History of Spain and Portugal, vols. i. and ii., to which the reader is referred.

of the state. The *wali*, or governor of a great city of a province, was the next in dignity: dependent on him were *wasirs*, or lieutenants, who governed, under him, the minor towns comprised in his jurisdiction. The *alcaid* was the governor of a fortress, or fortified town; and he had his wasir, or deputy. In a majority of cases, — in all except where the rights of the crown, or certain peculiar offences, were concerned,—criminals were taken before the tribunal of the cadi, or ordinary judge; but from his decision an appeal lay, first to the tribunal of the wali, and next to that of the king, who, on stated days, sat on the judgment seat, accompanied by the other judges. In doubtful cases the *imâm*, or chief of religion, and the *faquis*, or doctors of the law, were consulted. The supreme tribunal of appeal appears to have been the royal council, consisting of the great sheiks, walis, a few of the chief wasirs, and others, who, either officially, or by royal command, had a seat in it. The laws themselves were founded on the koran, with such additions from the Sonna, or book of traditions, as the altered state of society rendered necessary: they deserve little praise. Polygamy was allowed: a man could have four wives, and as many concubines as he pleased; yet whoredom was severely punished: Mohammed enjoined the death of both parties; but the Sonna, more lenient to the passions of men, decreed that the woman only should perish; and that, if a *single* woman sinned with a man, she only should suffer the penalty — stripes and twelve months' banishment. Fortunately, however, for the woman, such evidence of her guilt was required — *four eye-witnesses* — that there was little fear of her conviction. The children of concubines and of female *slaves* — the latter were as much at his disposal as the former — were legitimate, and could inherit with the children of the wives: the portion of the daughters was only half that of the sons. *Murder* was not necessarily punished with death; the next of kin might either insist on the execution of the culprit, or accept a pecuniary compensation according to the quality of the

parties: but, in this case, the culprit or his friends were obliged to redeem a Moslem slave. *Manslaughter* was visited with a heavy fine, and the redemption of a captive: other offences were punishable by a fine, by the lex talionis, or by the cudgel, an instrument held in high veneration by the Mohammedan faquis. In *theft* there was more severity — the loss of the right hand. The useful arts of life, agriculture and commerce, were cultivated with wonderful success by the Spanish Moors. They turned deserts into gardens; they had all the productions of the earth in exceeding abundance; and their ports were filled with vessels from all parts of the Mediterranean. Yet their contributions to the state were not heavy: hence there existed a degree of comfort among them not to be found in Christian Spain, or, perhaps, in Europe. But this state of things must often have been disturbed by intestine wars, a curse from which the people were seldom exempt many years together. There seems reason to believe that the ground was cultivated by slaves only — captives taken in war, who refused to change their religion, with their offspring — while the followers of the prophet either superintended the labour, or were occupied in mechanical and commercial employments.*

II. *Christian Spain.*

718 to 1516. I. THE ASTURIAS, LEON AND CASTILE.—When the Wisigoths fled into the Asturian mountains, they elected for their chief Pelayo, a noble of their nation, probably of the royal blood of Chindaswind. Soon after his accession, this brave prince proved that he was deserving the confidence reposed in him: he inflicted so severe a defeat on the Arabs who ventured to assail him in his fastnesses, that they were glad to leave him in tran-

* Authorities: — the Koran, in various places, with the Preliminary Dissertations of Sale, vol. i.; D'Herbelot; Bibliothèque Orientale, art. *Imam, Faqui*, &c.; above all, History of Spain and Portugal, vol. iv. ch. i., and Casiri, Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana Escurialensis, tom. i. et ii.

quillity during the rest of his reign. He established his little court at Cangas, which continued to be the seat of his four immediate successors, until Silo (774—783) removed it to Pravia. At this period the Asturian kingdom, which originally consisted only of the rocky mountains in the vicinity of Cangas, was extended, through the conquests of Alfonso, into Galicia, Portugal, Leon, and Castile. But even Pravia was not either sufficiently large or central for the increased kingdom; by Alfonso II., surnamed the Chaste (791—842), the seat of government was transferred to Oviedo, where it remained to the death of Alfonso III., in 910. This last-named monarch removed the national boundary to the Duero, in Estremadura and Portugal, and to the Sierra de Cuenza, in the territory of Toledo: hence his successor, Garcia, transferred the court to Leon, a much more central and convenient station. But, in the reign of Bermudo II. (982—999), the victorious Almanzor laid Leon, and all the cities as far as Tuy and Compostella, in ashes; forcing the court to seek its former capital, Oviedo. In the reign of Alfonso V. (999—1010), Leon was rebuilt, and was again the seat of royalty; but this advantage was counterbalanced by the dismemberment of the kingdom. The counts of Castile, profiting by the heritability of fiefs, were become too ambitious for obedience, and too powerful to be reduced; they assumed, and forced the kings of Leon to recognise, the regal title: the foundation of the new kingdom may be referred to 1026. Such an event could not fail to prove most disastrous to the Christian cause, and to the welfare of both states; since, from the passions inherent in human nature, they must inevitably be often at war with each other. From 1026 to 1230 there was always jealousy, and seldom peace, between them; — none except when, through family alliances, the two crowns happened to adorn the same brow. This union enabled Fernando I. (1037—1055) to recover the conquests of Almanzor; but at his death he had the impolicy to divide the crowns, leaving Leon to his eldest son, Al-

fonso VI., Castile to his second son, Sancho II., and Galicia to the third, Don Garcia. The two eldest princes went to war: Sancho was victorious, and Alfonso compelled to seek refuge (1071) in the Mohammedan court of Toledo. It even appears that, not content with this acquisition, Sancho reduced Garcia to the condition of a tributary, or perhaps a count; but in 1072 his career of ambition was ended by his assassination before Zamira, a fortress belonging to his sister, Donna Urraca, whom he also wished to deprive of her paternal inheritance. As he left no issue, Alfonso was now the heir to the crown: he hastened from Toledo, seized his inheritance, consigned his brother Don Garcia to perpetual confinement, and made great conquests both to the south and west. He it was who in 1085 took Toledo (his Mohammedan host had ceased to live) and all the neighbouring fortresses. The two kingdoms of Castile and Leon now comprised the whole country from the bay of Biscay to the Tagus, and from Mondego Bay to the confines of Aragon. His Portuguese possessions, extending from Oporto on the Duero to the confines of the Mohammedan kingdom of Badajos, he conferred, in 1095, as a fief, on one of his sons-in-law, Henry of Besançon, who was thus the first count of Portugal. He had previously created Raymund of Burgundy, the husband of his eldest daughter, count of Galicia; but the count soon dying, Urraca, his widow, married the king of Aragon and Navarre, their son, Alfonso Raymund, succeeding to the hereditary fief of Galicia. This was fatal policy in Alfonso VI.: he must have known little of human nature to expect that Henry of Besançon would continue a vassal of Castile and Leon. On his death, in 1109, he left both crowns to his daughter Urraca, whose troubled reign afforded count Henry the opportunity he wished to consolidate his rising power: at war first with her husband, from whom she had separated, next with her own son, her career was as unprincipled as it was stormy. In 1126 she ceased to do mischief, and her son Alfonso VIII. (1126–1157)

became king of Castile and Leon. In his reign, Alfonso Henriquez (son of Henry) both openly proclaimed and gallantly maintained the independence of Portugal: nay, more; on its plains of Ourique, where he defeated a vast host of Moorish enemies, he assumed the regal crown. But Alfonso VIII. made some amends for the loss of Portugal by his successes over the Moors: he removed the boundary of his kingdom from the Tagus to the Sierra Morena. On his death he had, like his predecessor, the folly to separate the two kingdoms of Castile and Leon: to his eldest son, Sancho III., he left the former, of which the capital was Burgos; to the second, Fernando, the more ancient kingdom of Leon. From this period to the union of the two crowns, viz. from 1157 to 1230, we meet with nothing but obscure broils between the two sovereigns and their subjects: that union was occasioned by the marriage of Alfonso IX. king of Leon, with the infanta Berengaria of Castile. In 1217, Berengaria became sovereign, and she lost no time in resigning the dignity to her son St. Fernando, who on the death of his father in 1230, succeeded also to the throne of Leon. This union was the sole work of that excellent princess: so far was Alfonso IX., her husband, from wishing it, that, in his last will, he actually left the joint sovereignty of Leon to two daughters; but she persuaded them to renounce their claims. In the historical sketch of Mohammedan Spain the splendid successes of St. Fernando (1230—1252) over the Moors, have been noticed. He pushed the boundary of his kingdom to the Guadalquivir, annihilated the petty principalities which suddenly arose on the decline of the Almohades, and confined that of the Moors to the small mountainous district of Granada. The perpetual dissensions of his successors and their subjects, and their wars with the Christian princes, saved the kingdom of Granada, until Fernando, heir of Aragon, by marrying the heiress of Castile, Isabel, daughter of Juan II. (1469), prepared its utter destruction. In 1474 he and his consort assumed the government of Castile and Leon;

in 1479 he succeeded by his father's death to that of Aragon, Catalonia, and Valencia; during the following years he waged a desultory but successful warfare against Granada, until 1492, when he annihilated that kingdom. In 1512 he conquered Navarre, thus reducing all Spain, Portugal excepted, under one head. He died in 1516, leaving his grandson Carlos (the emperor Charles V.) lord of that fine and extensive inheritance.*

1188 to 1425. The kings of Castile and Leon were much more absolute than their Wisigothic predecessors. The seeds of the feudal system were, doubtless, sown by those ancient conquerors of Spain, who parcelled out to their followers the country which their sword had won; but the improvement of the system was reserved for Pelayo and his successors. The lands recovered from the Arabs were considered as the monarch's; he was the señor proprietario, the sovereign and owner of the whole; which he granted to his great captains or condes (comites), to be held by the tenure of military service. The custom of granting a fief on the death of the holder, to his heir, insensibly led to the heritability of their possessions; hence the holders became comites in virtue not of their office as companions in arms of the king, but of their feudal jurisdictions. Within their jurisdictions they were the natural judges, as well as military and civil governors: they exercised the merum et mixtum imperium, the high and low administration; and though at a subsequent period, from the time of Alfonso el Sabio downwards, appeals from their tribunals to those of the royal judges, or of the king himself, were

* The authorities on which the above paragraph is founded are Isidorus Pacensis; Sebastianus Salamanticensis; Sampirus Astoricensis; Pelagius Ovetensis; Monachus Silensis; Rodericus Toletanus; Lucas Tudensis; the Chronicon Burgense; Annales Compostellani; Annales Complutenses; Anales Toledanos; Chronicon Conimbricense; Chronicon Lusitanum; Chronicon de Cardeña; Alonso el Sabio; Cronica de España; Ayala, Cronicas de las Reyes de Castilla; Rodericus Santius, Historia Hispanica; Hernando del Pulgar, Cronica; Zurita, Anales de Aragon; Mariana, Historia General de España; Ferreras, Histoire Générale d'Espagne, par Hermilly; Masdeu, Historia Critica de España, and many besides, in places too numerous to be cited. See History of Spain and Portugal, vol. ii.

common, originally they were allowed only in a few cases. With no superior at hand to check their conduct, they must, of necessity, have been above the law; and even their relations who had no hereditary jurisdiction,— the milites or cavalleros, so called from their maintaining a horse, — who held sub-infeudations under them, were scarcely less privileged. Their power over the rural population was as galling as it was boundless. To break it, or at least to curtail it, San Fernando suppressed the counts-governors of the provinces, and replaced them by the *adelantados mayores*, whose jurisdiction was not half so extensive, who were immediately dependent on the crown, who could be removed for slight reasons, perhaps even at the pleasure of the sovereign. But the feudal power was more effectually curbed by the institution of *communidades*, or of rural populations, which were withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the counts, and allowed to be governed by such laws as the charter which incorporated them provided. Instead of granting the waste lands recovered from the enemy to the great barons, the kings offered them to the people, on the conditions 1st, of cultivation, 2dly, of defence, and 3dly, of tribute. They were empowered to elect their own magistrates, to make their own local laws, to surround their community with walls, to maintain always armed a certain number of troops, and, on extraordinary occasions, to take the field themselves, against not only the common enemy, but the nobles, who beheld them with little complacency. These charters were in Spain, as elsewhere, the origin not only of civil freedom, but of representation. For many ages after the restoration of the monarchy, its affairs were transacted by the king in conjunction with the barons, chief nobles, and prelates, who were at least annually assembled, and who, on occasions of importance, could at any time be convoked by him. As the publaciones, or incorporated populations, increased in strength, they demanded a voice in the national council: they felt that they contributed more than the other orders to the support of the state; that

they were no less interested in its preservation, and that they ought in justice to have a voice in the disposal of money, of which so great a portion was raised by themselves. Fortunately for their claim, their royal protectors were willing to balance their new-born influence against that of the nobles, who had always aimed at controlling the crown. Their prayer was granted, a summons was issued to the communities to return one or more deputies; and in the charters, or fueros, which were subsequently granted, the right of representation was often distinctly recognised in the community about to be formed. It is impossible to fix the precise period when the third estate was summoned to the cortes, but it could not be later than the middle of the twelfth century. In the cortes of Leon, held in 1188, we hear of deputies of towns "chosen by lot," and we have reason to infer that it was not the first time of their assembling. The expression "chosen by lot" is a dark one. Were the towns which were to be represented selected by lot? or were the deputies so chosen? or, finally—and this is the most rational hypothesis,—were the elections made not by open suffrage, but by *ballot*?—In the same year (1188) were held the cortes of Burgos for the kingdom of Castile; and on this occasion we have the names of the places so represented. Among them we find many obscure villages, while considerable towns, and even cities, are omitted. This fact favours the hypothesis that none returned deputies except such as received the royal summons; and that such were selected as were likely to prove most obsequious to the royal will. There can be no doubt, that the great communities would soon manifest a spirit of independence not very agreeable to an absolute king; and we may reasonably infer that places of less importance, and consequently of less spirit, would often be preferred to them. But it is by no means improbable that a much smaller number of deputies than would have been returned by all the communities alone was suffered to attend during the same

session of the cortes; and that, as a certain number only were to be present, something like rotation was adopted in each succeeding session. This hypothesis would sufficiently account for a fact which has so often struck historians with surprise;—that during no two consecutive sessions were the representative places the same, nor the number of deputies returned by them equal. But the subject is beset with difficulties which, in our present ignorance respecting the ancient local charters of Spain, can never be removed. Whatever may have been the case, the representative towns were important enough to be courted by the crown, whenever any great object was to be gained. When Sancho the Brave, son of Alfonso the Learned, prepared to snatch the sceptre from his father's hands, he gained over the municipalities by promising to preserve their privileges. But that the same Sancho cared little for popular rights is apparent from the fact that he increased the power of the nobles, the constant enemies of the communities, by sanctioning the heritability of local governments, which were from henceforth to descend *jure hæreditario*, like the family estates, from one baron to another. The communities expostulated, and Sancho, to pacify them, allowed them the right to form confraternities for the defence of their privileges against the royal feudatories or judges, who were ever ready to assail them. In fact, the state of society was exceedingly insecure; the nobles treated the municipalities as open enemies, and wherever the executive was too weak, or too much occupied, to repress domestic excesses, nothing was more common than for a body of nobles to assail and plunder one of the smaller communities, or to intercept the merchandise and provisions of the greater. The same right had previously been obtained by the nobles. Hence the two parties, naturally hostile to each other, procured a royal sanction to that hostility. After his father's death, Sancho, finding that he had no longer need of municipal support, revoked, or by violence rendered ineffectual, many of the privileges which he had sworn to maintain;

nor durst the people remonstrate. But during the troubles which attended the minority of Fernando IV. (1295—1312) the municipalities, as the nobles had frequently done, confederated, to procure for each singly what the arms of the whole only could procure, not merely the preservation of existing privileges, but the acquisition of new ones. So long as the usurper Enrique I. had need of assistance against Pedro the Cruel, he was lavish of concessions to every order of the state; he even promised to admit twelve deputies into the royal council. Though this promise was never intended to be fulfilled, it served as a basis for future demands; in 1385, Juan I. formed a new council of twelve members, four prelates, four knights, and four deputies, and of the twelve co-regents appointed by his will during the minority of Enrique II. (1390—1406.) This, in fact, was the brightest period of municipal glory: to have a voice in the cortes, to advise the sovereign, to participate even in the government of the nation, rendered the corporation enviable to the seignorial towns,—to those which were still subject to feudal jurisdiction. That the latter were oppressed by their local tyrants is indisputable; that they should seek to obtain the same privileges as the others, was natural; but such was the influence of the aristocracy, that few succeeded in their application to the crown. A much more effectual and expeditious mode of enfranchisement was to offer to their hereditary masters either a heavy sum of money or an annual tribute. Sometimes, too, the feudal superior consented to abandon his rights, as well judicial as seignorial, for a participation in the profits of the local industry. But the communities thus favoured did not always deserve these exemptions; the troops which they maintained were often employed, not only in despoiling their hereditary enemies, but some rival towns; they made war on each other with little ceremony; and never failed to plunder passengers who had not an escort sufficiently strong to protect them. They had the misfortune, too, to offend the king, by frequently refusing

him the money he demanded for the public service. Incensed at their parsimony, no less than their want of obsequiousness towards the crown, Enrique II. excluded them both from the royal council, and from the council of regency during the minority of his son Juan II. (1406—1454), nor would Juan ever consent to admit them into his deliberations: from that time they never once sat in the royal council. But this was not all: some of them having complained of the expense to which the maintenance of their deputies subjected them, and expressed a wish to be relieved from it, the same Juan proposed that it should be defrayed by the royal treasury, and, strange to say, the proposition was eagerly accepted by the cortes of Ocaña (1422). This consummate act of policy transformed the deputies into the creatures of the crown. As so great a number was no longer necessary, twelve places only were thenceforward summoned to send their representatives, and six only allowed to entrust their procurations to one of the twelve. The cities thus *permanently* entitled to return members were, in Leon three, viz. Leon the capital, Salamanca, and Zamora; in Castile five, viz. Burgos, Toledo, Segovia, Avila, and Cuenza; in Andalusia three, viz. Cordova, Seville, and Jaen; in Murcia, but one. The right of procuration was restricted to Toro, Valladolid, Soria, Madrid, Guadalaxara, and (after its recovery) Granada. This was widely different from the former state of things, when ninety places on one occasion at least (Burgos, 1315), returned deputies to the same cortes. So much for the ancient system of representation in Castile: for a full history of the Castilian constitution, especially of its legislature, we must refer to the fourth volume of the HISTORY OF SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.*

II. NAVARRE. — Few things are wrapped in so much mystery, and, consequently, few have given rise to so 885 to 1512.

* The authorities on which the above is founded are, in addition to the numerous chronicles of Spain, Marina, Teoria de las Cortes; Sempère, Histoire des Cortès d'Espagne; Considérations sur les Causes de la Grandeur et de la Décadence de le Monarchie Espagnole; and the Acts of the Cortes, from those of Leon, in 1188, to those held under Fernando and Isabel.

much controversy, as the origin and early history of Navarre. Rejecting the numerous and useless hypotheses of writers, the first work in which we find any authentic mention — there are apocryphal documents in abundance — of that country as a *kingdom*, is in the continuation of the chronicle of Albelda, written by the monk Vigila in the tenth century. He tells us that Sancho, the son of Garcia, began to reign in 905; and if we admit — as by indirect testimony we may — that Garcia the father was the first sovereign of Navarre, the origin of the kingdom cannot well be assigned to a period more ancient than the latter half of the ninth century. Isidorus Pacensis, who wrote in 753, the monk of Albelda, and Sebastian, bishop of Salamanca, whose histories descend far into the ninth century, say not one syllable of the Navarrese kingdom. That the country was anciently dependent on the Asturias, appears from two passages in the same episcopal chronicler. In one, he tells us that it was never possessed by the Arabs, but by its native inhabitants; in another, that Alfonso III. marched against the *revolted* Alavese, — and Alava was then a part of Navarre. But that the inhabitants were certainly in dread of the Mohammedan yoke, appears from their application to the emperor Charlemagne, and from the immediate presence of a Frank army among them: perhaps, too, they wished to become independent of the Asturian kings; a supposition which acquires strength from the subsequent disputes between the two courts respecting their feudal superiority. They soon resolved, however, to have a king of their own; and they chose Garcia, who, in 891, was killed in battle against the Arabs. He left an infant son, Sancho, who, in 905, assumed the reins of government, and whose name must ever be glorious from his defeat of the Arabs before his capital of Pampluna in 908, and from the conquests he wrested from that enemy. In 920 he entered the cloister; but, hearing of his son's defeat at Val de Junquera (921), he hastened to the field, and almost annihilated the army of Abderahman III. One of his

immediate successors, Sancho el Mayor (970—1035), was one of the most powerful princes of his age. Besides Navarre, which was then more extensive than now, he ruled over Sobrarve, a part of Aragon, and, in right of his wife, Castile, which had just been erected into a kingdom: his son, too, had married the heiress of Leon, a connection which gave him considerable influence over that country. Along the southern skirts of the Pyrenees, he considerably extended his sway: he added, among other conquests, the lordship of Ribagorza to his crown. Had he left his ample possessions to one son, he would have laid the foundation of one great monarchy. Aragon would not have been called into being; Castile soon would have been united with Leon; and Portugal might not have been dismembered. By leaving to his eldest son, Garcia, Navarre and Biscay; to his second, Fernando, Castile; Ribagorza to Gonsalo; and Aragon (then a small lordship) to Ramiro, he not only afforded a bad example to his successors, but was the indirect cause of all the disasters which followed — of the endless wars among the Christian princes of the Peninsula. Garcia III. (1035—1054) gained Calahorra from the Moors: in his wars with Castile he fell at Atapuerca, in an unnatural conflict with his own brother. The son, Sancho III. (1054—1076), being assassinated by his own kindred, and leaving children too young to govern, Alfonso of Castile, and Sancho Ramirez, second king of Aragon, contended for the crown: the result was, a dismemberment of the state; Rioja and Biscay declaring for the former, Navarre Proper for the latter. From this period both these provinces were dependent on Castile. During sixty years Navarre and Aragon were under the same sceptre; but, on the death of Alfonso I. (1134) without issue, the two states quarrelled about the choice of a successor, and ended by each electing one; the choice of the former falling on Garcia IV. (1134—1150), a scion of their royal house. This prince, like his successors, Sancho V. (1150—1194) and Sancho VI. (1194—1234), was much more

frequently at war with his Christian neighbours of Castile and Aragon, than with the common enemy. As the last-named prince had no issue, and as with him ended the male line of that ancient house, his last act, which was well meant, was to nominate king Jayme I. of Aragon, his successor: but the Navarrese, refusing to sanction the union of the crowns, and detesting the Aragonese, elected Thibault, count of Champagne, son of the infanta Sancha, sister of the late king. Thibault I. (1234—1253) was many years absent in the crusades, and on a pilgrimage to Rome, in penance for his murder of a bishop. Thibault II. (1253—1270), also, as a vassal of the French monarch for his lordship of Champagne, attended St. Louis in the crusade, and died, immediately after his liege superior, on a foreign shore. On the death of Henri (brother of Thibault II.), the crown devolved to his daughter Jeanne, who, by marrying a French prince, carried the sceptre into the royal house of that kingdom. Four succeeding sovereigns of France (1284—1328) ruled Navarre by their viceroys; but, in 1329, the country regained its independence by proclaiming Jeanne, a daughter of Louis Hutin, who though the Salic law removed her from the throne of France, could succeed to that of Navarre. On the death of Blanche (1441), daughter of Charles the Noble, the crown should have passed to her grandson Charles (the son of her eldest daughter), but it was retained by her husband, Juan of Aragon. To recover his right, the prince went to war with his father, and died in the prime of life. The crown, according to the laws of succession, should now have fallen to Blanche, the sister of Charles; but she was as hateful to her father as that prince had ever been, and was doomed to be more unfortunate. The affection of Juan, now become (1458) king of Aragon, was absorbed by the offspring of his second marriage, — Leonora, married to the count de Foix, and the infante Fernando, who succeeded him in the crown of Aragon, and married the heiress of Castile. To make way for the second daughter, Leonora and her

issue Blanche was hurried across the Pyrenees, and confined in the castle of Orthes, in Bearne, where she died — probably violently — in 1464. That a damning deed was perpetrated within these solitary walls, was the opinion of all contemporary, and has been that of all succeeding, writers; nor was the opinion weakened by the curse which was perceived to rest on the house of Foix. The male heirs of that house perished prematurely. Catherine, a grand-daughter of Leonora, succeeded that ambitious princess, and married Jean d'Albret, lord of Bearne, who assumed the title of king of Navarre. This marriage was exceedingly galling to Fernando of Castile and Aragon, who had long cast an eye on the crown, and who had proposed to bring it into his family by the marriage of Catherine with his son Juan. So long as Navarre was leagued with France, his natural enemy, — and the alliance was become perpetual, — he must always have a troublesome, often a dangerous, neighbour. Actuated by this conviction, and still more by ambition, in 1512 he invaded the kingdom, expelled Jean, and annexed his conquest to his crown; nor from that day could all the forces of France replace the fugitive family on the throne.*

As the constitution of Navarre was nearly the same as that of Aragon, we defer our observations on the subject until we have concluded the history of the latter kingdom.

III. CATALONIA. The early history of Catalonia has been the subject of nearly as much dispute as that of Navarre, and from the same cause, — the desire of the natives to exhibit an antiquity equal at least to that of the Asturias. As little will *their* pretension stand the test of criticism. We hear not of the province until about the year 776, when one of the Mohammedan 801 to 1162.

* Authorities: in addition to the endless historians of Castile, Zurita, Anales de Aragon; Favyn, Histoire de Navarre; Oihenart, Notitia Utriusque Vasconiæ; Moret, Investigaciones Historicas, necnon Anales del Reyno de Navarra; Yepes, Cronica General de la Orden de San Benito; Masdeu, Historia critica de España; Traggia, art. *Navarra*, in the Diccionario Historico Critica de España, with many others.

governors, anxious to escape the yoke of Cordova, sent messengers to Charlemagne, whose supremacy he offered to acknowledge as the condition of assistance against Abderahman, or, perhaps, of restoration to his government, from which he appears to have been displaced. The glory of subduing the misbelievers, of extending his empire into Spain, and of promoting the interests of religion, induced that emperor to march (773) his legions across the Pyrenees: one division passed through Navarre and reduced the *Christian* city of Pamplona; another through Roussillon. We are assured that Gerona, Huesca, Saragoza, and even Barcelona, submitted to the invader,—the Mohammedan governors agreeing to do homage for their respective places. Scarcely, however, had he retired (he was recalled by an insurrection of Saxons) when Abderahman again subjected the province to the crown of Cordova. In 785 Gerona submitted to Louis king of Aquitaine, who placed in it a Christian count; and some years afterwards other Mohammedan governors were reduced, and Barcelona taken after an obstinate siege. In 801, Louis made a triumphant entry, and nominated as count, Bera, a native of Gothic Gaul, with whom he left a strong Christian garrison. That Bera was the vassal of the French crown is indisputable; that he had some authority, or at least a jurisdiction of honour over the other counts of Catalonia—and every city had one—is exceedingly probable. It was not to be expected that the Arabs would quietly suffer the loss of so fine a province: they commenced a desultory war; and that it was for a while successful appears from the fact that in 830 they were in possession of Barcelona, Manresa, Cardona, Salsona, and the whole country to the very foot of the Pyrenees. But these possessions were subsequently recovered; for in 836 we find there was a count of Barcelona named Bernardo, who in 840 was also duke of Septimania (in Languedoc). He was succeeded by other feudatories of the Frank emperors,—Barcelona, however, being twice gained by the mis-

believers and recovered, — until Wiffredo II. (884—912), who, having to sustain a new war against these restless neighbours, without any assistance from the French king, is said to have obtained the promise, that if he cleared, by his own efforts, the province from the enemy, he and his successors should possess it, entirely independent of France,—in full sovereignty. However this be, it is certain that Wiffredo expelled the Mohammedans, and that henceforth neither he nor his successors were much disposed to acknowledge the supremacy of France. The counts of Barcelona conferred the government of the other cities, Gerona, Urgel, Besalu, Cardona, &c. as fiefs, on their immediate relatives, and in all things acted as sovereigns. By marriage and purchase, Raymundo II. acquired considerable possessions beyond the Pyrenees, — Conflans, Comminges, Carcassonne, Narbonne, and Thoulouse; but on his death he divided these states among his three sons, the youngest being count of Thoulouse. This policy was as fatal here as elsewhere. In 1081 the second brother, Raymundo III., was assassinated by order of the eldest, Berengario, who was expelled by the indignant inhabitants, and the government conferred on the infant, Raymundo IV., son of the murdered count. Raymundo IV. had much trouble from his vassal, the viscount de Carcassonne, who openly rebelled, and from the Mohammedans, who laid waste his territories: with the former he was compelled to temporise, from the latter he took the island of Majorca. In 1112 he married the heiress of Gilbert count of Provence, to whose states he soon succeeded. He, too, had the impolicy to dismember his states: to his eldest son, Raymundo, he left Catalonia and Gothic Gaul; to his second, Berengario, Provence. Raymundo V. (1131—1137) was still more fortunate in his matrimonial speculation: by marrying, in 1137, Petronilla, heiress of Ramiro the monk, king of Aragon, he became, on the resignation of Ramiro, joint sovereign of that kingdom. From this period Catalonia followed

the fortunes of Aragon, with which it was inseparably united.*

Even after its union with Aragon, Catalonia continued to have its distinct legislature and laws. It had its own cortes, consisting of prelates, nobles, and deputies; and its code, or usages of Catalonia (Usatici Barcionensium), which were added in the eleventh century to supply the defects of the Wisigothic. The provisions of this code require no detail: they were not numerous, and they were mostly a mixture of Roman and Gothic jurisprudence, — "Roman as to the civil, Gothic as to the criminal portion; Gothic also with respect to the tenure of fiefs, the conditions of union, and the jurisdiction of the tribunals." †

1035 to 1516. IV. ARAGON. — When Sancho el Mayor, in 1035, divided his states among his sons, Aragon, which fell to Ramiro, comprised only the north-west angle of the present kingdom of that name, and the southern boundary of the Pyrenees: its humble capital was Jaca, or San Juan de la Peña. Ramiro (1035—1063) added Sobrarbe, Ribagorza, and a great part of Pallas; Sancho I. (1063—1094), most of the Mohammedan fortresses from the Pyrenees to the Ebro; Huesca was subdued by Pedro I. (1094—1104); Tudela, Saragoza, Daroca, Calatayud, Mequinencia, &c. by Alfonso I. (1104—1134) surnamed from his numerous battles *el Batallador*. This little lordship being extended into a considerable kingdom, the court in 1119 was removed by the same Alfonso to Saragoza, which ever afterwards held the honours of a capital. Raymundo, the husband of Petronilla, the count of Barcelona, and prince of Aragon (1137—1162), added Tortosa, Lerida, and Fraga to the kingdom: his son Alfonso II. (1163—

* Authorities: Annales Francorum Fuldenses; Annales Bertiniani; Eginhardus, Annales Rerum Francorum; Monachus Ripipullensis, Gesta Comitum Barcionensium; Zurita, Anales de Aragon; Marca, Limes Hispanicus; Diago, Historia de los victoriosissimos antiguos Condes de Barcelona; Bouges, Histoire Ecclésiastique et Civile de la Ville de Carcassonne; Baluzius Tutelensis, Capitularia Regum Francorum; with many others, as cited in the History of Spain and Portugal, vol. iii. pp. 57—78.

† Usatici Barcionensium, passim. History of Spain and Portugal, vol. iv. p. 176.

1196) made some conquests on the frontier of the Moorish kingdom of Valencia. This prince also fell into the fatal policy of his age: Provence, which, as dependent on Catalonia, his father had brought into the royal house of Aragon, he left to his second son Alfonso. His son and successor Pedro II. (1196—1213) acted still more culpably: in return for his coronation at Rome by the hands of pope Innocent III., he agreed to hold Aragon as a fief of the holy see, obliging both himself and his heirs to an annual tribute! The incensed states of his kingdom remonstrated against the act as below his dignity, as inconsistent with their independence; nor did they hesitate to declare it null. Yet Pedro was no bigot to the doctrines of the Romish church; we may even suspect his bias to those of the Albigenses, of whom he was the protector, and in whose cause he fell in a battle on the Garonne, about two leagues from Thoulouse, while opposing the ruthless Simon de Montfort and the detestable papal legate. His son, Jayme I., surnamed from his conquests *el Conquistador* (1213—1276), subdued the kingdom of Valencia and the Balearic Isles, which had long been the strong-holds of piracy, and which had long forgotten the expedition of the Catalan count.* His son, Pedro III. (1276—1285), by marrying Constanza, daughter of Manfred, king of Sicily †, succeeded to the crown of that island; but he left it to his second son, Don Jayme. Alfonso III., brother of Pedro (1285—1291), as the price of peace with the pope and the French, deserted the islanders and his brother; and that brother, being called by Alfonso's death to the throne of Aragon, also forsook his brave subjects. From this period (1291) to the close of the fourteenth century, Sicily was separated from Aragon, when, by the marriage of the princess Maria with an infante of Aragon, it reverted to the same crown. In 1410, on the death of Martin, king of Aragon and Sicily, the male line of the royal house was extinct; and several princes connected with it on

* See page 275. † See the History of Sicily.

the female side became competitors for the vacant dignity. By the three states, Catalonia, Aragon, and Valencia, Fernando I. (1412—1416), infante of Castile, whose mother was Leonora, eldest daughter of Pedro IV., was elected to succeed. Alfonso V. (1416—1458) conquered Naples; his brother and successor Juan II. (1458—1479) by marrying his son, the infante Fernando, to Isabel, heiress of Castile, laid the foundation of the Spanish monarchy. Fernando II. (1479—1516), the *fifth* of that name in the sovereignty of Castile, united Aragon, Navarre, Catalonia, Valencia, to Castile, and, by expelling the Mohammedans from Granada, effected the union so much desired by Europe, and still more by the interests of humanity.*

1076 to 1479. The power of the Aragonese kings, like those of Navarre, was certainly more restricted than that of the Castilian or Portuguese sovereigns. This restriction was commenced by the Fuero de Sobrarbe, a code of laws common to both Aragon and Navarre, and as ancient at least as the time of Don Sancho I. On the conquest of Valencia, the same code, with the additions made to it by various kings from Sancho to Jayme I., served as the basis of jurisprudence in that kingdom. Valencia, however, had its own legislature, — its nobles, prelates, and deputies in cortes assembled, — who, with the sanction of the crown, made, from time to time, such alterations in, or additions to, the laws as were required by circumstances. In both kingdoms new charters, intended to supply the deficiencies of the existing laws, were granted by succeeding monarchs, down to the union of Aragon and Castile, under Fernando II. in 1479. Much exaggerated praise has been passed on the ancient constitution of Aragon — by no one so absurdly as by Robertson, the most inaccurate of all modern historians, with, perhaps, the single exception of Hume. It little deserves such encomia: it was made by

* Authorities: Monachius Rivipullensis; Zurita; Lucius Marineus Siculus; Laurentius Valla, De Rebus Gestis Ferdinandi Primi; Blancas, Rerum Aragonensium Commentarii, with the historians of Sicily, Naples, and Spain, in a multitude of places.

the aristocracy for their own interests; if it circumscribed the power of the crown, it no less annihilated that of the peasantry, whose condition was more wretched in Aragon than in any other province of Spain. It is indeed true, that the municipalities, which owed their existence to royal charters, and which, as in Castile, had their own laws (fueros y privilegios), were long flourishing; but, as in the other kingdom, they, too, were at perpetual war with the nobles, often with the king, whom the nobles drew into their party. In fact, the history of Aragon is filled with such contentions. The king naturally wished to extend his authority; the nobles to rule over both him and their odious enemies, the commoners; the latter to expel both, and erect a republic. (The origin of the cortes in Aragon is as ancient at least as in Castile.) Sometimes, when the ambition of a king was dreaded, the nobles and commoners united their forces, and were then too much for the crown; and when the king and nobles united, the democracy gave way. In other countries rebellion is accidental: in Aragon it was legal; for whenever the nobles and municipalities were or fancied themselves injured, they were authorised by the laws to *confederate*, viz. to assemble in arms and insist on a redress of their grievances. Pretexts to draw the sword were never wanting. In 1368, indeed, this dangerous concession was revoked by the cortes; for its exercise was found inconsistent with the very existence of the monarchy, yet both nobles and people continued to break out into open insurrection whenever it suited their humour to do so. Lest the crown, during the recess of the cortes, should encroach on the liberties of the nation, a permanent deputation sat at Saragoza; it consisted of eight members, two prelates, two barons, two counsellors, and two citizens, all nominated by the cortes. Such were its powers, that if the king, or the grand justiza, who was the acknowledged head of the judicial administration, refused to correct any abuse, —

we may add, to execute any command,—it would convoke an extraordinary meeting of the cortes. To quiet the fury of domestic faction,— often of open warfare, where laws and judges were equally disregarded,—it was found necessary to erect a new species of authority. The kingdom was divided into five departments called *juntas*, the members of which consisted of nobles and citizens, who, whenever the tocsin was sounded, flew to arms, and went in pursuit of all daring delinquents, —all who refused to be judged by the laws: the heads of these juntas were called *sobre-junteros*. It does not, however, appear that much good resulted; for these armed functionaries were accused of adding to the existing confusion. The only definition that can be justly given of the Aragonese constitution is, that it was one which allowed nobles and populace to do what they *pleased*, the king what he *could*, and the serfs nothing. When this unfortunate class was concerned, king, barons, and citizens could forget their respective dissensions, and act with marvellous union.*

1095 to 1495. V. PORTUGAL. — The first count of Portugal, as we have before related, was Henry of Besançon, son-in-law of Alfonso VII. This fief he received under an hereditary title, but yet dependent on the crown of Leon. From 1095 to 1112, the period of his life, he obtained some successes over his Mohammedan enemies, whose possessions were contiguous to his own. His son, Alfonso I. (1112—1185)†, extended the state, which originally comprised only the country between the Minho and the Douro, as far as the Tagus. Emboldened by a splendid victory over the Moors on the plains of Ourique, he assumed the regal title, and threw off all allegiance

* Fori Aragonum Universales; Tarazona, Instituciones del Fueros y Privilegios del Reyno de Valencia; Sempère, Histoire des Cortès; and History of Spain and Portugal, vol. iv.

On this subject the reader must beware of following Robertson's romance,— his (so called) History of Charles the Fifth. For a brief, though, it is to be hoped, satisfactory account of it, the last work cited will suffice. In the present chapter we can only glance at it, — for we have no wish to repeat ourselves further than is necessary to convey a very general idea of the Spanish kingdoms.

† Alfonso was only two years old on his father's death.

to his liege sovereign of Leon. His immediate successors were less triumphant over the misbelievers; for Alemtejo was not subdued until the time of Sancho II. (1223—1248), nor Algarve, before it fell under the united arms of Castilians and Portuguese, in the reign of Alfonso III. (1248—1279). The two Christian people would have proceeded to war with each other for the possession of this important province, had not a compromise been effected; — Alfonso marrying a princess of Castile, and receiving the province as dowry with her, — doubtless, subject to homage and tribute. But Portuguese sovereigns were never very scrupulous in fulfilling their engagements. As Alfonso I. had wrested the other provinces from the supremacy of Leon, Alfonso III., or his immediate successor, Dinis, did not hesitate to employ the same perfidy in regard to Algarve. In the annals of Portugal we meet with little on which either the eye or the heart can rest with pleasure. Employed in fomenting the internal troubles of Castile, or in quarrels either with the church or their own kinsmen, tyrannical in their sway, cruel in their disposition, often profligate in their lives, the rulers of this country have, with two or three exceptions, little claim to our respect. On the death of Fernando I. (1381), whose daughter and heiress had married the king of Castile, it was expected that the two crowns would be united: but Joam, the grand master of Avis, a bastard son of Fernando, took advantage of the antipathy borne by the Portuguese towards their neighbours to usurp the crown: he defended his usurpation with great valour, and at his death (1433) left to his son a throne firmly established. In his reign the Portuguese commenced their brilliant career of foreign conquest and of discovery. The first of those conquests was Ceuta, in 1415; the first of their discoveries were the Madeiras and Sierra Leone, in consequence of two expeditions fitted out by Henrique, a son of Joam, the only scientific prince Portugal ever produced. In the reign of Alfonso V. (1438—1481) many other fortresses were wrested from the Moors of

north-western Africa: in that of Joam II. (1481—1495) settlements were formed on the African coast as far as Congo and the Cape of Good Hope, which was discovered by the Portuguese admiral Bartolomeo Diaz. This led to the discovery of India, and of the splendid empire which, during a short period, this enterprising nation erected in the East.*

In Portugal the authority of the king was more absolute than in any part of the Christian Peninsula. The chief reason is, that the cortes were no check on the crown: they were seldom convoked; and when assembled, their numbers were so few that they could have no influence. Not more than ten or twelve places appear to have *simultaneously* enjoyed the privilege of representation, nor did the number of deputies exceed thirty or forty. Such deputies might grant supplies to the king,—the only purpose for which they were convoked,—but they could not awe either him or the nobles, who in this ountry were a numerous body. But the Portuguese, throughout their political existence, have shown no general disposition for freedom, the meaning of which they have never understood: ignorant and degraded, they have always lived contented with slavery. Another reason of the exceeding preponderance of the crown was to be found in the paucity of national laws, the interpretation of which, in cases of appeal, lay with the king. Comparatively few additions were made to the code promulgated by Alfonso I., in the cortes of Lamego. Down to the latter half of the fifteenth century, the barons of Portugal preserved the worst features of the feudal system: in virtue of their hereditary jurisdiction, they held the privilege of trying and condemning even in capital cases. It is, indeed, true, that from their tribunals lay an appeal to the three royal ones sitting at Lisbon; but this was a right which the ignorant could not, which the timid durst not, exercise. Joam II. deprived the nobles of this dangerous power,

* Authorities: The historians of Portugal, as cited in the History of Spain and Portugal, vol. iii. ch. 5.

and by so doing endangered the stability of the throne, chiefly through the means of the house of Braganza,— a house which has little claim to the respect of mankind.*

CHAP. II.

RELIGIOUS AND INTELLECTUAL STATE OF SPAIN.

THE CHURCH. — SAINTS. — ST. BENEDICT OF ANIANA.— ST. OLDEGARIO.—ST. FERNANDO.—ST. DOMINGO DE GUSMAN.—THE ALBIGENSES. — ST. ANTONY OF PADUA. — ST. RAYMUNDO DE PENAFORT.— RAYMUNDO LULLY.— LITERATURE.

I. THE Mohammedans of Spain were always distinguished for orthodoxy; they belonged to the sect of Malek ebn Ans, one of the great Sounite doctors. The zeal with which they defended their religion will appear from the numerous army of Christian martyrs whom they beheaded at Cordova, and from the multitude of their books on every doctrine and precept of Islam. In *literature* and *science* they were unrivalled. That on almost every subject which the human mind is accustomed to contemplate, they had more writers than any other nation in Europe, nay, than all other nations taken together, will sufficiently appear from the Bibliotheca of Casiri, and from the chapter which we have devoted to Hispano-Arabic letters in the HISTORY OF SPAIN AND PORTUGAL: to that chapter we refer the reader.

II. From its foundation, either by one of the apostles or by their immediate disciples, down to the eleventh century, the church of Spain was remarkable, above any other in the communion of Rome, for its independence of St. Peter's successors. Under the Wisigothic kings

* See History of Spain and Portugal, vol. iv. p. 188.

it held little intercourse with that see; and it allowed their kings to exercise over it an authority which must fill us with surprise. That he could issue general regulations for the maintenance of discipline, preside in ecclesiastical tribunals of appeal, convoke national councils, and appoint to all vacant bishopricks, without the necessity of applying for the papal bull of confirmation, have been proved in another work.* The authority of the pope over the Spanish church was, originally, remarkably subordinate to that of the king: he was allowed a supremacy of honour, but that of jurisdiction was probably disputed; and even when the church was disposed to yield the object of dispute, it pertinaciously retained many things which it considered necessary to its independence. That he could remit the pallium, judge in appeals, send apostolic nuncios and resident legates, from the conversion of the Wisigoths to the orthodox faith, is undoubted; but even these privileges were so sparingly exercised as to attract no notice; and no claim whatever was made to the more objectionable points of jurisdiction, — to episcopal confirmation, to the canonisation of saints, to canonical dispensations, much less to the monstrous dogma of papal infallibility, and his consequent superiority over an œcumenical council. From the eleventh century, however, owing to the frequent intercourse between the Spaniards and the French, the worst features of what the natives call the ultramontane discipline were gradually recognised. Besides the points already mentioned, other claims, — such as the dependence of monasteries on the holy see alone, tribute, and perpetual appeals, — were made and acknowledged.†

But as we have, in another work, sufficiently dwelt on the discipline of the Spanish church, we shall now

* History of Spain and Portugal, vol. iv. pp. 263—270.

† Ibid. vol. i. p. 184., vol. iv. ubi suprà. Masdeu, España Arabe, lib. ii. Sempère, Considérations sur les Causes, tom. i. cap. 4. and 5. Aguire and Catalani, Collectio Maxima Conciliorum Omnium Hispaniæ; necnon Baluzius Tutelensis, Collectio Veterum Monumentorum (in multis scriptoribus).

hasten to contemplate it in its chief SAINTS; a subject which, on the former occasion, we had neither space nor time to notice. We must, however, observe, that if we except those of Cordova, of whom sufficient has been said *, Spain can boast of very few during the middle ages,— fewer, perhaps, than any other Christian country in Europe: her glory, in this respect, must be referred to the Roman times, when she was probably unrivalled.

The first saint presented by the order of time is *Benedict of Aniana*, one of the great restorers of monastic discipline, who appears to have been born about the middle of the eighth century. His father being the count of Magalona, in the diocese of Montpelier, placed him, at a very early age, in the suite of king Pepin, whose cup-bearer he became; for as Spain, of which Languedoc had formed a part, and on which it was soon to become again dependent †, was now occupied by the misbelievers, the court of the Carlovingian princes was the only one where a young Gothic noble could be received. But the youth paid no regard to the honours within his reach: three years is he said to have fasted and prayed; when, rightly considering that such a life was ill adapted to a court, he exchanged it for that of the cloister. His austerities were rigorous enough to evince his ill-directed enthusiasm: the rule of St. Benedict he denounced as lax, as fit for beginners only; bread and water, in the smallest quantities, he regarded as enough for any monk; of raiment he would have the coarsest only, nor would he change it, even when covered with vermin: in the severest weather he often prayed throughout the night standing in his cell, or in the oratory, barefooted and shivering. His brethren doubted, as they well might, his sanity, and sometimes showed their contempt by spitting on him, or kicking him; 750 to 821.

* History of Spain and Portugal, vol. iv. pp. 290—304.

† On the lordship of Barcelona, and that of Septimania,— dignities which, after the conquests of Charlemagne, were united. But this region, long after the dissolution of the connection,— down even to the close of the twelfth century,— was dependent on Catalonia and Aragon.

yet, on the death of the abbot,—in such reputation was a senseless asceticism,—he was elected to the dignity. He had, however, seen enough to convince him that he could not long govern such a brotherhood; so that, declining the office, he returned to his own country, and on his patrimonial estate built a monastery, near which a town, bearing his name, has since arisen, about four leagues west of Montpelier. But the observance which he enforced was so rigid, that few would remain with him: bread and water, wine only on festivals, joined with hard bodily labour, were certainly no great inducements to forsake the world. Yet he persevered; and in a few years his fraternity was so increased, that a larger house was necessary to contain them. As his reputation spread, offerings, according to the manner of the times, were multiplied: even large estates were appropriated to the new monastery; but to his everlasting honour he immediately enfranchised the serfs attached to them. We may add, to the honour of the church in general, that during the middle ages the condition of this class of men would have been intolerable but for the ministers of religion. Though forming a part of the feudal system, prelates and abbots were uniformly the protectors of the villeins; and, as one third of the lands throughout Europe were under their immediate control, we may conceive how greatly the worst evils of that system were mitigated. In another respect, the charity of Benedict was pitiable; instead of punishing the robbers who committed frequent depredations on the estates of his monastery, he suffered them to escape. Thus when the peasants one day brought him a man whom they had caught riding away with several horses belonging to the fraternity, and whom they had characteristically ill-used, he caused the thief to be healed and dismissed. On another occasion, while walking with a monk in the neighbouring fields, he met a man mounted on one of his horses, and when the monk called his attention to the circumstance, he contented himself with observing that many horses were alike; though he after-

wards admitted that he knew both the beast and the thief. As the riches of the house increased, the abbot permitted it to be enlarged and beautified; the thatched roof to be replaced by tiles; wooden pillars by those of marble, and a magnificent church to be erected, lighted by seven chandeliers, each with seven branches, while the altar and the choir were provided with fourteen lamps. Into the choir he also introduced the Gregorian chanting, with singing men and boys. That he had become much more rational is also apparent, from the attention which he now bestowed to useful studies: he filled his cloisters with professors of logic and of theology; and his monks were soon eminent enough to be chosen as instructors in other monasteries,—not a few were transferred from the cloister to the episcopal throne. The wealth which he received from the piety of princes and nobles he expended in hospitality, or in administering to the comforts of the poor monasteries, not in the same diocese only, but throughout Languedoc and Gascony. That his fame should spread through all France, and even reach the emperor's ears at Aix-la-Chapelle—the ordinary residence of the imperial court—was to be expected. He had above three hundred monks under his superintendence, when bishops and nobles, who wished to reform or to found new religious houses, began to solicit brethren from Aniana to guide other establishments. Thus he sent twenty to assist Leidrad, archbishop of Lyons, in restoring a monastery which had fallen into decay: thus the celebrated Alcuin, who in the sequel became his intimate friend, obtained the same number from him to found that of Cormery; thus also a colony was sent to aid Theodulf, bishop of Orleans, in restoring that of St. Mesmin. But as his community continued to increase, he himself founded several cells or minor houses in various parts, each with its superior or prior dependent on him as the abbot. Of all the colonies established by these monks, the most celebrated was that of Gello, founded by the liberality of William duke of Aquitaine, who is more generally

known as "St. William of the Desert." This nobleman, one of the most honoured and powerful at the court of Charlemagne, was no less devout than Benedict. Having founded and considerably endowed the monastery of Gello, about a league distant from that of Aniana, he himself sighed for the cloister. The seclusion of his two sisters, who dedicated their virginity to God, deepened the impression: with difficulty he procured permission from his imperial friend and master, Charlemagne; offered his knightly arms at the shrine of St. Julian, in Auvergne, and hastened to the monastery of Gello. Having made his profession, he devoted his time to the rigid observance of the rule; nor did he shun either the most laborious or most menial of duties. The brotherhood were, no doubt, edified at seeing this princely convert "a hewer of wood and a drawer of water," or performing the humiliating service of the kitchen: after a time, however, they would not suffer him to share in this domestic drudgery, but insisted that he should devote his whole time to contemplation and prayer.—St. Benedict lived until 821. By the emperor Louis he was drawn from his retirement to reform the religious houses in the north of France. His last foundation appears to have been a monastery near Aix-la-Chapelle, the monks of which acquired so much reputation for learning and sanctity, that they were visited from all parts of Christendom. One of his last employments was to draw up, in three volumes, an elaborate system of monastic discipline, embodying the regulations which from time to time he had introduced,—such, especially, as had received the sanction of other abbots,—to explain and amplify the rule of St. Benedict the patriarch of the West.*

1061 to 1137. But the most renowned churchman of these regions was the *blessed* Oldegario; who, though honoured as a saint in Catalonia and Gothic Gaul, has not been formally

* S. Ardo, Vita S. Benedicti, cap. 1—10. Bollandistæ, Acta Sanctorum, Die Feb. xii. Mabillon, Acta Sanctorum Ord. S. Bened. tom. v. p. 194, &c. Fleury, Histoire Ecclésiastique, tom. x. liv. 46.

canonised by the pope. He was a native of Barcelona, born in the reign of Raymundo I. Dedicated in his infancy to the church of St. Eulalia, he became a dignitary of that cathedral; but, like many other secular ecclesiastics of the time, he seems to have entertained the notion that sanctity was to be found only in the cloister: that according to the current language he was *converted*, is certain; for in a few years afterwards we find him abbot of St. Ruf. On the death, however, of the bishop of Barcelona in 1114, he was elected to that dignity; and he subsequently became the first archbishop of Tarragona, after its recovery from the Moors. He is chiefly known for the vigour with which he defended the rights of his church against the Catalan nobles; for his fervour towards the Templars, his best protectors against the misbelievers; and, if not for that asceticism of life so usual in an unenlightened age, at least for uncommon religious zeal. After his death, in 1137, many miracles, we are told, were wrought by his intercession, and even by his apparition. That at his funeral a dumb woman learned to speak, her first words being, "Sancte Oldegari, ora pro me!" that two other women were recovered from a sickness incurable by men; that two blind men were restored to sight; that two fugitive slaves belonging to his devotees were discovered by him, what Catalan of the times ever doubted? But he was not satisfied with assisting individuals: he was the patron of his province, especially of Barcelona, its capital. Some pirates of that capital, having made a descent on the Moorish possessions of the south, "having burnt many houses, killed many misbelievers, and led others away captive," were returning joyfully towards Catalonia, when the incensed Moors undertook a pursuit. Unconscious of their danger, the former, at night-fall, had put into a solitary bay, and fallen asleep. The leader, in his dreams, perceived a venerable man, clad in priestly garments, with a wand in one hand, who told him to arise and depart, for the Moors were at hand. The same moment he awoke; but, every thing around being

buried in silence, he treated the warning as a mere dream, and again fell asleep. This time, however, the saint shook the vessel so lustily that all awoke, while a voice exclaimed, "Fly! the Moors are upon you." All heard the voice, but the master was more favoured; he saw with his bodily eyes the identical old man of his dream. The crew weighed anchor, fell to their oars, hoisted their sails, and, though the misbelievers were already entering the bay, escaped by the help of God and St. Oldegario. The Catalans think it hard that so holy a man, and the worker of so many miracles, should not have been received among the saints of the church universal; but, while they curse the incredulity of the popes, they worship him the more fervently. *San Fernando*, the *king* of Leon and Castile, was, as might be expected, much more fortunate. The Spaniards were not a little mortified on reflecting that they had no *royal* saint to oppose to the French, who extolled the merits and miracles of St. Louis so as to fill them with envy. There was, to be sure, St. Ermenigild; but Ermenigild was only a prince, and too ancient to confer much honour on modern Spain. A royal saint, however, they were resolved to have, and none appeared so fitting as Fernando III., who had rendered himself dear to the nation by his victories over the Moors, and to the church by his severities towards the Albigenses of his dominions. There was, indeed, one objection: neither don Lucas of Tuy, nor don Rodrigo of Toledo, both contemporary with this monarch, regarded him as any thing more than a mere pious king; nor did even the chronicle of Fernando, though written at a period considerably subsequent to his death, regard him as a saint. But the Spaniards were not discouraged; they knew that by old writers he had been styled *pius* and *sanctus*; that though the latter word had been used in a sense synonymous with the former, it might be made to signify something more; and that, as to *miracles*, nothing was so easy as to produce them in any number, all duly proved by oral evi-

dence. Accordingly, the dean and chapter of Seville, supported by the interest of Philip IV. and Carlos II., prepared the miraculous evidence, and urged the cause at the pontifical court with so much zeal, that, in 1671, the papal mandate went forth permitting the monarch to be worshipped. The history of the process, the details of which would fill volumes, would not much edify the Catholic reader, nor dispose him to regard with much reverence the system of semi-deification in his church. Two of the miracles, however, we will give, — ex quibus disce omnes. A certain virgin was affianced to her lover by her kindred, who promised to give her so much money in dowry; but, being unable to raise it, he refused to marry her. In her distress she asked council from the holy king, and, no doubt at his instigation, she risked what little money she had in a lottery established at Seville; of course she obtained the chief prize: the lover now eagerly sued for her hand, and the marriage was solemnised, — thanks to God and the glorious king! A poor man lost his ox; whether it had strayed or were stolen, he could not tell; but he caused a mass to be said to the glorious king. That very hour the butchers of the city (Seville) were driving their cattle towards the public slaughter-house, when one of them was observed to break loose from the rest, traverse the intermediate streets, hasten to the church of St. Mary, and stop before the sepulchre of the glorious king? Quid multis? — the owner came out of the church and recognised his cow — thanks be to God and the glorious king! *

Contemporary with Fernando was a saint more celebrated perhaps than any other of the middle ages; more connected certainly with history — Domingo de Gusman, founder of the preaching friars, or the Dominicans. He was born in the year 1170, in the diocese of Osma, and 1170 to 1206.

* Diago, Historia de las Victoriosissimos Antiguos Condes de Barcelona, cap. 80—147. passim. Bollandistæ, in Vitâ B. Oldegarii, Die Martii vi. Iidem, in Vita S. Ferdinandi Regis, Die Maii xxx. Fleury, Histoire Ecclésiastique, tom. xiv. liv. 678.; tom. xvii. liv. 81—84.
See the exploits of Fernando, in History of Spain and Portugal, vol. ii. p. 52—59.; p. 178—182.

at fourteen sent to the university or rather school of Palencia, recently founded by Alfonso IX. There he so distinguished himself by his abstinence, by his fastings, his prayers, his regularity of life, by his progress in logic and philosophy, that his diocesan soon gave him a canonry in the cathedral of Osma. The dignitaries of that chapter lived in community, subject to the rule of St. Augustine; by its rigid observance, and by his devout studies, he was soon raised to the dignity of subprior, the bishop being the prior. We next hear of him at Thoulouse, on his return from a temporal mission, in which he had accompanied that prelate. At this time the whole of southern France, from the mountains of Savoy to Thoulouse, nay, the whole country from Catalonia to Lombardy, abounded with dissidents from the Romish communion,—with sectaries, who, under the general names of Vaudois and Albigenses, differed in some points essentially from each other, and had nothing in common beyond contempt for the superstitions of the dominant church. The former, the Vallenses (corrupted into Vaudois), were so called from their residence in the mountains of Savoy, probably from time immemorial; the latter took their name from *Albi*, in the vicinity of which they flourished in most number.* Of the Vaudois, with whom we have no present concern, it may be sufficient to say, that their tenets do not appear to have materially varied from those of modern protestants. Not so the Albigenses, who certainly held some at variance with scripture and reason; some, the tendency of which was to subvert the fundamental principles of human society. It may indeed, and with much appearance of reason, be urged in their defence, that the only account we hear of their opinions is furnished us by their ruthless enemies.

* This at least is the most probable etymology:—"Dicuntur autem Albigenses ab Albâ civitate."—*Mattnæus Paris.* They may, however, have derived their name from their condemnation at the councils of Lombers in that diocese. Or, lastly, the *Albigeois* may have comprised a country much more extensive than the bishopric of that name,—the whole of Provence, and a considerable part of Languedoc. See Vaissette, Histoire Générale du Languedoc, tom. iii. n. 13. p. 553, &c.

To understand the weight of this objection, let us hear the words of a contemporary, Peter, monk of Vaulx-Cornay, of one who was present among them, and who is the first chronicler that condescends to acquaint us with what we are so much interested in knowing.*

He tells us that they acknowledged two Creators; the one of things invisible, or the good Being, the other of things visible, or the evil Being; that the former was the author of the New Testament; the latter of the Old; that they rejected the whole of the Old Testament except such passages as were quoted in the New. "They called its author a liar, because in Genesis it is said, 'The day thou eatest of such a tree thou shalt surely die;' yet our first parents did not die, though, in consequence, we are subject to misery and death. But the author of the book did more than lie; he was a murderer, because he burnt Sodom and Gomorrah, destroyed the earth by water, drowned Pharaoh and the Egyptian hosts in the Red Sea." Omitting some impieties respecting the prophets of old, John the Baptist, and Christ himself (that is, the Christ of *Bethlehem*, whom they hold to be an evil demon, while to another and invisible Christ, who never appeared on this earth, they assigned all possible honour), the monkish chronicler proceeds to tell us that one sect of the Albigenses, — for he intimates that there were several,—acknowledged *one* Creator only; but then he was the father of two opposite sons, Christ and the devil. "Originally all creatures were good, but they were corrupted by the daughters of men, as related in Genesis." "They called the Roman church a den of thieves—the whore mentioned in the Apocalypse; they hold as nothing the sacraments of the church; that baptismal water is no better than river water; that the consecrated host is not a jot better than the common bread of

* Bollandisteo, in Vitâ S. Dominici, Die Augusti iv. Raynaldus, Annales Ecclesiastici, an. 1206. Fleury, Histoire Ecclésiastique, tom. xvi. Petrus Monachus Cœnobii Vallium Cernai, Ordinis Cisterciencis, Historia Albigensium et Sacri Belli in eos suscepti (apud Ducheane, Rerum Francarum Scriptores Coætanei, tom. v. p. 55.).

the laity; that if the body of Christ were as huge as the Alps, it must long ago have been consumed. They also taught that the sacraments of confirmation and confession are vain and frivolous; that that of marriage is a prostitution; and that no one who begets sons and daughters can be saved. Denying the resurrection of the body, they imagined some strange conceits; pretending that our souls are those angelic spirits which, falling from heaven, left their glorified bodies in the air; that those souls often inhabiting seven successive terrestrial bodies, may rejoin their original ones, their term of penance being concluded." Peter next informs us that the same sect had two descriptions of professors, — *the perfect* and *the believers*; that the former, who were clothed in black, refrained from women, flesh-meat, wine, even from eggs and cheese; that the latter lived in the world as others lived, but in other respects hoping to be saved through the faith of the perfect. Of the *believers* he drew a horrible picture, telling us that they scrupled at few crimes; that they did not believe reparation for injuries was binding on them; and that at the last extremity salvation would be obtained by simply repeating a pater-noster, and by the imposition of hands from one of the perfect. This imposition of hands, in addition to the pater-noster, they called *consolation*, since it made the sinner sure of heaven without any other preparation or satisfaction whatever. In confirmation of this exposition of the Albigensian creed, Peter relates two anecdotes. — A certain believer, at the point of death, received the accustomed consolation from one of the perfect, but he was unable to repeat the pater-noster before he died. The *consoler* knew not what to make of it; the man seemed to be saved by the imposition, yet damned through not repeating the prayer. The point was a nice one; it was submitted to a certain elder of the sect (no doubt one of the perfect), who decided the matter by saying that the deceased should be saved; but, in future, whoever failed in the pater-noster should cer-

tainly be damned.—Another believer bequeathed a sum of money to the sect, which he required his son to pay. In due time the perfect came for the money, when the son asked, "Where is my father's soul?"—"In heaven, to be sure!" was the reply. "Thank God and you for that," rejoined the youthful wag; "if so, his soul has no longer need of alms, and none will I give you!" So strictly were the perfect expected to refrain from the interdicted food, that if any of them ate ever so little of flesh, cheese, &c. all the believers whom he had consoled lost the Holy Spirit, and must be consoled again. When any convert wished to be received among them, he was told, "Friend, if thou wilt be one of us, thou must entirely renounce the Romish faith!" and he replied, "I renounce it!" "Receive then the good spirit!" said the catechist, who blew seven times into his mouth, and proceeded,—"Dost thou also renounce the cross, which at thy baptism the priest drew with the oil and chrism on thy breast, shoulders, and head?" "I renounce it!" "Dost thou believe that the baptismal font regenerates and saves?" "No!" "Dost thou renounce the veil which at baptism the priest laid on thine head?" "I renounce it!" The convert then received the imposition of hands, the kiss of peace, and a habit, and became one of them. The monk of Vaulx-Cornay adds, that, with respect to their morals, they held, that man is not accountable for any bodily sins committed below the umbilical cord; that for those of the head and heart only is he responsible.*

That the preceding description is in many points inaccurate, is exceedingly probable; but the basis is too true. As the Albigenses have no ancient historians of their own to acquaint us with their real tenets, we are compelled to consult their enemies for information respecting them, and that information we must always receive with caution. Yet, to reject it altogether, would

1015 to 1200.

* Petrus Monachus, Historia Albigensium, cap. ii. p. 455., &c. We are the fuller on this subject, as some doubt has been expressed — such is the ignorance of the age — whether we had authority for the character we gave of the Albigenses, in the History of Spain, vol. iv. p. 307—309.

be as unreasonable as to place implicit credence in it, and even more so. That Peter the Monk, who was actually among them at a most eventful period, should know more of them than any other writer, must be conceded: his testimony is confirmed — we mean substantially — by three considerations. 1. The oriental spirit which evidently pervades such of their tenets as he describes, he could not have invented; he was too ignorant to know any thing of the Manichæan or Paulician * heresies, which, at former periods, had so much distracted the eastern church: he could no more have invented this description, than the wonderful tales of the Thousand and One Nights. 2. Other writers of the same century allude to this rejection of the Old Testament. Thus Guillaume de Puy Laurens (Gulielmus de Podio Laurentii), in the fourth chapter of his Chronicon, gives us part of a conversation between the bishop of Albi and one of these heretics, Sicard of Lomberes,—a conversation which the chronicler learned from the bishop himself. Both one day happening to be present in the castle of Lomberes, the knights and burghers insisted that the prelate should dispute with the famous heresiarch. The former at first declined the dispute, on the ground that Sicard was too hardened to be reclaimed; but fearing that if he still persisted his motive would be construed into fear, or into a consciousness of advocating a weak cause, he at length consented. The conversation is only partially given; but there is one question of the prelate's, with Sicard's reply, corroborative enough of the statement we have made. "Sicard," said the bishop, "as you reside in my diocese, I may consider you as one of my flock; hence you ought to give me a reason for your faith; and when I put a plain question to you, you ought to answer me." Sicard promised that he would truly answer.

* They were called *Paulicians* from Paul the Armenian, the reformer of the doctrine of Manes, who lived in the seventh century. That the Paulicians held generally the same *fundamental* tenets as the Manichæans, is clear from the account given of both by the Byzantine historians, and from the acts of the Greek councils. Doubtless they differed in some points; but the spirit which filled both was substantially the same.

Suspecting the chief tenet of the sect, that all who lived under the old law were damned, the prelate asked, "Do you believe that Abel, who was slain by his brother; that Noah, who was saved from the deluge; that Abraham, Moses, David, and the other prophets who lived before the coming of Christ, are saved?" — "I do not," replied the man, in a firm tone. 3. But the strongest evidence that the Manichæan heresy had taken deep root in southern France, appears from the absolute identity of its tenets with those of the Albigenses. If the reader will be at the trouble to compare the description of the latter, as given by the monk of Vaulx-Cornay, with that of the former, as it exists in a valuable history of the Paulicians, he will find that they are the same.* Both recognised an evil and a good principle, independent and creative; both rejected the sacraments and the Old Testament; both denied that the real Christ was ever incarnate of the Virgin Mary; both refrained from meat and wine; both condemned the cross and the ministry of the altar; both laid an exclusive claim to the possession of the Holy Ghost, and taught the remission of sins by the imposition of hands; finally, the morals of both, though outwardly decent, are in an equal degree reprobated by the historians of the Lower Empire, and by the chroniclers of France. 4. Equally irrefragable as to the identity, or at least as to the fundamental resemblance of the two sects, are the canons of councils in the Western church; we might also add, the epistles of popes, prelates, and doctors, and the lives of saints. That there have been Manichæans at all times in the Western church, and that in all cases they arrived from other parts, is known to every reader of ecclesiastical history. In 443, St. Leo discovered in the capital hundreds whom the Vandals had expelled from Africa, and whom he also banished. His example was imitated by Gelasius I. (492—496),

* We have not before us the work to which we allude, — that of *Petrus Siculus*, — but the substance seems to be faithfully given by Fleury, Hist. Eccléa. tom. xi. liv. 52.

by Symmachus (498—514), and by Hormisdas (514—523), so that, dwindled to an insignificant number, and careful to conceal their opinions, their name was forgotten until new apostles were, by the Greek wars, transplanted into Europe.* Their frequent rebellions in Armenia and Syria, the strong-holds of their heresy; their alliance with the Mohammedans in the wars against the Greek emperors; their subjugation by their imperial persecutors; their location in considerable numbers, in Thrace and Bulgaria, during the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries; and their subsequent dispersion through Italy and France, are facts which we read in almost every Byzantine historian of the period. That many entered Italy by the north, is evident from their prevalence in Lombardy *; but it seems probable that many also reached the coasts of Provence from various ports of the empire.† In 1022, near two centuries before the crusade against the Albigenses, we first hear of them in France ‡ at the council of Orleans: after some hesitation, they professed the same obnoxious doctrines as had been taught by their Armenian forefathers, and as the monk of Vaulx-Cornay subsequently ascribes to the Albigenses. In the end, as they refused to recant, they were cruelly burnt; and the same fate was inflicted on others who were discovered at Thoulouse. These facts appear not only from the canons of the council, but from the unquestionable testimony of Ranulphus Glaber, monk of Clugny, who lived at the very time, — a testimony not inferior in importance to that of the monk Peter, since it not only proves the existence of Manichæans in France as early as the commencement of the eleventh century, but connects them

* The father of St. Peter of Verona was a Manichæan.

† The connection between Provence and Bulgaria is described by cardinal Conrad, in the provincial council of Sens (Labbei Concilia, xi. 288. Martene, Thesaurus Anecdotorum, i. 900.,) but that the Albigenses had a pope who, as Gibbon asserts, "directed from the confines of Bulgaria the filial congregations of France and Italy," is not so clear. (Raynaldus, Annal. Eccles. an. 1223.)

‡ The acts of this council destroy at one blow the hypothesis of writers who assert that the Manichæans were not introduced into southern France until the middle of the eleventh century.

with the Albigenses. Two years afterwards the synod of Arras discovered that new missionaries from Italy had infected many of the people with the same heresy; it arrested and publicly examined them. This time, however, they affected to be convinced by the arguments of the presiding bishop, and were quietly suffered to depart. In 1114 the council of Beauvais, acting on the barbarous example of Orleans, consigned several to the flames. The third canon of the council of Thoulouse (held in 1118) anathematises those who taught that the sacraments were vain, that the priesthood was a useless institution, that marriage was to be avoided; and it condemned several whose names are mentioned, and who had recently arrived from Italy. They were not confined to the south of France: in 1147, the epistle of a Westphalian monk to St. Bernard acquaints us both with their existence at Cologne, and with the doctrines they professed: that they held all the sacraments to be vain traditions; that they condemned marriage; that they refrained from all food produced by generation; that grace was communicable by themselves alone, through the imposition of hands. The writer further observes, that he had been unable to learn from them what were the reasons which induced them to condemn marriage: either, said he, they have none, or they dare not avow it. In consequence of this letter, as well as of his own observation during a long visit into Provence and Languedoc, St. Bernard wrote two of his sermons, both which display considerable knowledge of the subject: he says that the heresy was not new; that it was well known in the ancient church; that its present professors were exceedingly ignorant — the dregs of society: in conclusion, he assailed their tenets one by one, with some force of reasoning. In the same year two leaders of the sect, Pierre de Bruis, and his disciple Henri, diffused their errors throughout Languedoc: with no less force were they assailed by the abbot of Clugny, who had himself been among them, and who refutes their Manichæan tenets, one by one,

with zeal and success. From the biographer of St. Bernard we learn that Albi was the most affected with the pestilence; that the saint succeeded in expelling it by the efficacy of his preaching; and that, wherever the evil seed had been sown, he hastened to pluck it up before it could germinate. Henceforth they are described as Albigenses rather than Manichæans. From this period, we find perpetual mention of them in the acts of councils, and in episcopal epistles: from the same period, too, the fires of persecution blazed with new fury; but this policy, as cruel as it was sense less, multiplied instead of diminishing the number.*

Such were the Albigenses — that they were not Christians, that they were worse than Mohammedans, that they rejected not only what is common to Roman catholics and protestants, but even what the Arabian impostor himself sanctioned, must be evident to every man who is diligent enough to seek for truth, and honest enough to confess it. For the favour with which they are regarded in this and other protestant countries obvious reasons may be assigned. The Albigenses inveighed against image-worship, against the mass, against prayers for the dead, against the authority of the popes, and other

* Ranulphus Glaber, Monachus Cluniacensis, Historia sui Temporis (apud Duchesne, Rerum Francarum Scriptores, tom. iv. p. 1—55.); Gulielmus de Podio Laurentii, Chronica, cap. iii.; Petrus Monachus, Historia, ubi suprà; Petrus Siculus, Historia Manichæorum (as cited by Fleury, Hist. Eccléa. tom. xi. liv. 52.). See also Cedrenus, Zonatas, Leo the Grammarian, Constantine Porphyrogenitus, Theophanes, Symmachus, and other historians of the lower empire, in places too numerous to be cited. Lebeau, Histoire du Bas Empire, tom. xii.—xvii. St. Leo, Papa, Epistolæ 8., 15., &c.; necnon Sermones, 5. 7, &c. Baronius, Annales Ecclesiastici, an. 492—523. passim, et 1015—1198, passim. Acta Conciliorum Galliæ, Conc. Aurel. Bellov. Toloa., &c. in the collection of Labbæus; still better in that of Le Cointe, Annales Ecclesiastici Francorum, tom. iii.—v. For most readers Fleury, Hist. Ecclés. an. 492—523, et an. 1015—1203, may suffice.

We are sorry to see the inadequate manner in which Sismondi (Histoire des Français, tom. vi.) has treated of the Albigensian *doctrines;* on their cruel *persecutions* he is diffuse enough. In his subsequent work (Histoire des Républiques Italiennes, tom. ii. p. 70.), he acknowledges that neither the monk of Vaulx-Cornay nor St. Dominic could have invented the tenets they ascribe to them, — tenets which, as he observes, are unquestionably of oriental origin. The celebrated Müller intended to write an historic view of the progress of the Paulician heresy from Armenia into Bohemia and Languedoc — a subject which he had long studied; but he did not live to accomplish his project. He considered that John Huss and Jerome of Prague held some Manichæan opinions.

abuses; and in this respect they were, doubtless, the forerunners of the reformation. But let us not forget, that if they assailed the superstitions, they also rejected the essentials of Christianity — every thing which, if we believe in the Scriptures, we *must* consider holy; that they were blasphemers, perhaps even idolaters. Whether their morals were as lax as their doctrines were abominable, we do not wish to decide, but we may observe that morality could scarcely exist with such opinions. However this be, one thing is unquestionable; that it was the duty of the civil powers to put them down, not by fire and sword, but by persuasion — by the arguments of the clergy; and if those failed, they might have been banished into some Mohammedan country. Yet, until prejudice ceases to influence the mind, or until ecclesiastical erudition is much more widely diffused than it has long been, the Albigenses will have their advocates. It is lamentable to see with what pertinacity, even men from whom greater sobriety of judgment might be expected, — a Sharon Turner or a Gilly, — incline to a sect which has no claim on our favour beyond that of pity. That the church of England should contain within her bosom so many admirers of fanatics who denounced not only the hierarchy, but the sacraments and the institution of priests; that any Christians should advocate the cause of men hostile to Christianity itself, may, indeed, surprise us, if we did not know that it is easier to utter preconceived opinions than to wade through hundreds of ponderous folios. The preceding can scarcely be called a digression; and if it were, we hope it would be pardoned: he who sincerely endeavours to dissipate, however vainly, long-continued error, has some claim to indulgence, even when he forsakes, for a moment, his proper path of investigation.*

* Sharon Turner, History of England during the Middle Ages, vol. v. passim. Gilly, Waldensian Researches, Introduction.

The latter author, who is deservedly popular, and whose name should always be mentioned with respect, exhibits on this subject more prejudice than research. He is unwilling to admit that the Paulicians ha-

1193 to 1221. Before the arrival of St. Dominic and his bishop in Narbonensian Gaul, Innocent III. had sent preachers among the Albigenses, with the view of reclaiming them by argument; or, if that should fail, by fire and sword. The first missionaries were two Cistercian monks, one of whom, as papal legate, was armed with extraordinary powers; they were soon aided by others; and, if we may believe the accounts of their party, they had always the victory in controversy. This is not improbable; they were well versed in scholastic subtleties, while their antagonists were ignorant laymen. But the advantages of the contest were all on their side: those whom they could not convince, or, what is the same thing, vanquish, they could burn or banish. When, in 1206, the bishop and Dominic came into these regions, they found the monks discouraged by their bad success, —perhaps from a more honourable cause, from disgust of persecution. Don Diego told them that they had failed through pride; that, instead of being attended by a numerous and pompous retinue, they should utterly renounce all worldly advantages; that they should travel on foot, live on the plainest food, fast often, and

any thing common with the Manichæans, though the Byzantine historians and the Greek councils prove them to be almost identical: he will not allow them to have been introduced into Thrace and Bulgaria, whence they spread into Italy and France, though no fact in ancient history is better established: he will not admit that the Albigenses held the same tenets as the Paulicians or the Manichæans, though the acts of councils and contemporary chronicles place the fact beyond dispute; he represents the Albigenses as professing a pure Christianity, though they were hostile to its most essential doctrines, and to a visible church. If they were Christians, then was Zoroaster, then was Manes, then was the impostor of Mecca, then have been the arch-heretics who have so often distracted the universal church. It would be easy to prove, if either our limits or subject permitted, that the Albigenses sowed the seeds of the monstrous errors which in more recent times have checked true religion in Switzerland, Germany, and England; that the most fanatic of the Anabaptists, the wildest of the Behmenites, the most ranting of the Covenanters, were indebted to them for some of their worst tenets. If the author of the Waldensian Researches and of Felix Neff will, as he is very capable of doing, examine for himself, he will certainly abandon the *Albigenses*; — of the *Vaudois* or *Waldenses*, as we have not materials before us to form an opinion concerning them, we shall only say that they are allowed by contemporary writers to have been a very different body of men, — to have been something like *Christians*. Felix Neff, the recently deceased pastor of the High Alps, a pastor whose life has been so interestingly written by Mr. Gilly, would bear a comparison, as to zeal and piety, with any saint that has appeared since the apostolic times.

pray incessantly. They asked him, probably in scorn, to set the example, and he did so. Dismissing all his servants and all his clergy, Dominic only excepted, he entered on the career with eagerness, and with wonderful alacrity was he aided by his companion. They travelled from city to city, from village to village; their example brought a great number of monks to labour in the same field. Urgent affairs summoning the bishop to Spain, where he soon died, Dominic was left with the Cistercian monks to finish the mission. He found that the heresy had infected some of the nobles, and that many more favoured the dissidents from hatred of a church which wealth had long rendered insolent, and power unpopular; they cared not for the new doctrines, which they probably never sought to comprehend; but they were eager to seize an opportunity of humbling an odious clergy. What success attended the preaching of Dominic we do not learn; it was probably little, for his disposition was too stern to attract the love, however it might occasion the fear, of his auditors. That there was little prospect of triumphing over the heresy, either by argumentation or by individual exertion, may be inferred from the invocation by pope Innocent of the secular arm,—from his despatching missionaries among the French princes to preach the crusade in Languedoc. Dominic was not slow in preaching this crusade; and, as the same indulgences were held out to those who entered on it as to those who departed for the Holy Land, the number who assumed the cross was prodigious. At their head was the ferocious Simon de Montfort, whom the Manichæan heretics might well have worshipped as an incarnation of the evil principle. Dominic was no less ferocious; but his bloody temper was directed by qualities more elevated than those of that selfish leader. But he was not less odious; as the head of the new inquisition (1208), appointed to enquire into heresy, and to condemn its professors,—an inquisition consisting of his immediate followers alone, and subject to his sole direction,—he must have been regarded with bitter

hatred. While De Montfort put to the sword whole towns, the young and the old, children and women, forbidding mercy to be shown to any, the Inquisitor, accompanied by his satellities, and protected by the crusaders, delivered some thousands over to the secular arm, "that through the medium of flames temporal they might be sent into the flames eternal." But he was not always thus protected: he did not hesitate to plunge alone into the places most infected with the heresy,—into places, too, where his worst cruelties had been perpetrated. He was once, while traversing the country, and remote from aid, suddenly surrounded by some enraged Albigenses; but, though assured that his last hour was come, he neither showed nor felt any fear; he rather rejoiced that an opportunity of martyrdom was afforded him. To the question, "Art thou not afraid of death? what wouldest thou do if we should kill thee?" he replied, "I would desire you to prolong my torments, to cut off my limbs one by one, and show them to me, to pluck my eyes from their sockets, and when nothing remained but my bleeding though yet living trunk, to roll it in its blood, until you thought proper to end me!" That he would have joyfully suffered the terrific fate he invoked; that fanaticism had elevated him above the feelings of nature, is beyond dispute. The martyr's crown, however, was not to be his: for the Albigenses, struck with admiration at his contempt of death, allowed him to proceed. After following his infernal vocation seven years, Dominic, accompanied by the bishop of Thoulouse, attended the fourth council of Lateran (1215), to procure from Innocent the approbation of his new order,—that of the Preaching Friars, and fathers of the Inquisition, whose sole occupation should be to combat heresy by arguments, and, when arguments were ineffectual, to consign the contumacious to the tender mercies of the executioner. He had already established the head-quarters of his society at Thoulouse; but as he waited on the pope unprovided with a rule, he was

desired to return and consult with his brethren, on the nature of the regulations by which the infant society should be governed. They chose the rule of St. Augustine, with the addition of some austerities not inculcated by that celebrated doctor. At the same time, like the members of the sister order, that of St. Francis, they vowed an absolute renunciation of worldly goods, — that they would possess no lands, no capital, no money, but live on such revenues as the faithful should give them. That year (1216) the institute was confirmed by Honorius III., who, in the interim, had succeeded the ferocious Innocent. Originally it was merely a college of canons regular, subject to him as the prior of St. Romanus in Thoulouse, but in the sequel it deviated widely from its institution; it became mendicant, vagabond, and rich. — Hitherto we have refrained from noticing the marvels which the biographers of this extraordinary man have invented; but we must notice two or three. Innocent is said to have declared, that in a dream he saw the two saints, Francis and Dominic, support on their shoulders the church of Christ — an evident invention. The next is more daring. — Dominic, while at Rome in 1216, went, we are told, according to custom, to pray most of the night in the church, and while thus occupied, he saw the Son of God arise from his Father's right hand, and in great anger seize three lances, to exterminate all sinners; one lance for the proud, a second for the avaricious, the third for the voluptuous; but his mother, kneeling before the throne, said, "I have one faithful servant, at whose preaching sinners will repent; and I have another to aid him." Her deprecation was successful: the Saviour was appeased; and on his inquiring who were the two servants she meant, she presented Dominic, and another whom he had never seen. On the following day, however, while in the same church, he perceived the heavenly stranger, whom he embraced, exclaiming, "Thou art my companion; thou wilt labour with me: let us be united,

and we need not fear the enemy." This stranger was St. Francis, who had already instituted the order of Friars Minor. This blasphemy was not invented by either, but by the disciples of one; probably by those of Dominic, immediately after his death: nor is it the least instance of that coolly devised system of fraud which both orders practised on the world. Soon after this, as he was praying in St. Peter's church for the prosperity of his institute, the apostles Peter and Paul approached him; the former gave him a staff or rod, the other a book, saying, "Preach; for this ministry hath God chosen thee!" This, too, is an invention of his unprincipled followers. On his return to Thoulouse, however, he changed the discipline of his house: he would no longer have them stationary: they should be dispersed to preach the Gospel to heretics, to heathens, to the Catholics, to the whole world. Some he sent into Spain, some to Paris, while he himself, in the hope of martyrdom, resolved to go among the Mohammedans. With this view he suffered his beard to grow; but before he could depart, he received orders from Honorius to apply his undivided attention to the extirpation of heresy in Languedoc. The following year (1218), however, we find him in Spain, founding one monastery at Madrid, another at Segovia. On his way to Paris, in the spring of 1219, he fell in with some Germans, whom he was most anxious to edify; but as he knew not a single word of their language, he prayed to God for the gift of that tongue, and, to their great wonderment, immediately received it. This was related by the companion of his journey, Friar Bertram, — but not till Dominic was no more. At Paris he found thirty brethren, all comfortably established in the monastery of St. Jacques: hence their denomination of *Jacobins*. At Bologna, in Italy, whither he next resorted, he also found a flourishing congregation. But that he was opposed to worldly prosperity is evident from his refusing to accept a valuable bequest in land, and from his condemning in severe terms the recent

enlargement of the cells:—"What! palaces already?" Little did he foresee the spirit which immediately after his death would pervade his whole order. With St. Francis he continued, — a remarkable phenomenon, considering their natural rivalry, — to live in the greatest intimacy: in fact, he proposed an union of the two orders; but St. Francis opposed it, on the ground that they would be more useful while separate — in reality, because he wished not a divided sceptre. He knew, too, that the success of the Friars Preachers was much inferior, their consideration in the world much lower, than that of the Friars Minor. To counterbalance this disadvantage, the Dominicans, after the death of their founder, resorted to the most blasphemous inventions. That in 1219 he raised two from the dead in the city of Rome, is gravely affirmed by his biographers contemporary with him. But he made no pretensions to superior sanctity: fierce as was his bigotry, he had no hypocrisy. In 1221, when he held his second chapter-general (the first was held the preceding year), he found that his order was much more prosperous. It required eight provincials, one for each of the provinces — Spain, Provence (which was then a fief of the empire), France, Lombardy, Romagna, Germany, Hungary, and England. He died at Bologna in 1221. Eleven years after his death, his order was allowed to have its gaolers, tormentors and executioners, its tribunal, prisons and fetters, without the aid of the secular power. It has been a dreadful curse to the Christian world — a stain which no time can cleanse in the Romish church; but let us not forget that however savage its founder might be, he is not accountable for its atrocities or its impostures after he had ceased to direct it.*

* Beatus Jordanus, Vita S. Dominici, necnon Theodoricus, Vita ejusdem (apud Bollandistas, Acta Sanctorum, Die Augusti iv., necnon apud Surium, De Probatis Sanctorum Vitis, eâdem die). Raynaldus, Annales Ecclesiastici, an. 1206—1217. Innocens III. Papa, Epistolæ ad Varios, in variis libris (some of these interminable letters are in Duchesne and Raynaldus; the whole have been edited by Baluzius). Gulielmus de Podo Laurentii, Historia Albigensium, cap. iv.—xxxiv. Petrus Monachus, Historia Albigensium, cap. i.—lxxxii. Gulielmus de Nangiaco, Præclara Francorum Facinora,

1195 to 1231. The greatest saint of whom Portugal boasts is *St. Antony*, who, though surnamed of Padua, was born at Lisbon in 1195. His baptismal name was Fernando, which, after his conversion, he changed to Antonio, hoping thereby to elude the vigilance of his parents, who were hostile to the change. At fifteen, he entered on his noviciate among the canons regular of St. Vincent, in his native city; but being here liable to frequent interruptions by his acquaintance, he removed to that of the Holy Cross at Coimbra, subject to the same rule of St. Augustine, where he is said to have studied with some success. But his religious temperament would not suffer him to remain in the secular state; the sight of the relics of five Friars Minor who had been recently martyred at Morocco, made him desirous of embracing a more rigid life, in the hope of one day obtaining the same crown. The opportunity was soon offered him; some Franciscans applied to the convent for alms; his heart, says his biographer, yearned towards them; he insisted on assuming the habit, which they threw over him, and led him away in triumph from that splendid structure to their own mean cell. With the resolution of laying down his life for the faith, he soon sailed for Africa; but there he does not even appear to have once preached: he fell sick, say his biographers — meaning that he repented of his rash project, — and returned. Contrary winds forced the vessel to the coasts of Sicily, where, hearing that a chapter-general of the order was to be held at Assisi, he resolved to attend it. Having obtained permission to pass some time in the hermitage of St. Paul, near Bologna — probably to do penance for the weakness of the flesh during his notable African mission — he applied himself to prayer, fasting, and meditation. While here, St. Francis founded his third order, — Brethren of Penitence. His first was the Friars Minor, properly so called; his second was that

p. 764, &c. Fleury, Histoire Ecclésiastique, tom. xvi. (sub annis). Veignitte, Histoire Générale de Languedoc, lib. xx.—xxiii. Bouges, Histoire de Carcassonne, part. i. et ii.

of *nuns*, subject, as we have before said, to St. Clair *; the present was for seculars,—for the married even, who remained in the world, and who did not think that the ordinary path to heaven was sufficiently thorny. When many married persons wished to separate, and to enter the cloister, he refused to receive them; but he promised to draw up a rule, by which they might as effectually serve God in their own houses. They had their grey habit, their crucifixes, their hours of prayer, their vigils and fasts, like any other of the monastic orders; but they were not to refrain from the *debitum conjugale*, except in seasons of peculiar direction. Had the brethren of Antony been aware of his name and education — for they had few scholars at this period among them, and still fewer converts from the secular clergy — he would not have been allowed to remain there. Here he remained for some years, — appearing once only at a chapter to vote for the deposition of friar Eli, successor of St. Francis — until accident discovered his acquirements. Being sent with some others to Forli to embrace holy orders, where a considerable number of friars were assembled, the provincial desired some Dominicans, who happened to be present, to deliver some suitable exhortation; and when they excused themselves on the just pretext that they were unprepared, he made the same request to hermit Antony. That the latter had been hitherto esteemed a raw convert, appears from the surprise with which his discourse was received: we are told that he exhibited equal learning and eloquence, and a zeal not inferior to either. The intelligence reached the ears of his general, who ordered him to occupy himself exclusively in preaching. From this moment must be dated a career, which, however short, is said to have been exceedingly brilliant. The effects produced by his discourses are described as wonderful, — that he held his congregation breathless through terror, when he enforced the awful responsibility of probationary men, and the certainty that

* See Life of St. Francis.

few would be saved. That he denounced sin with great vehemence, in the rich even more than in the poor, and that he did not suffer even what the world esteems venial offences to escape his lash, is apparent from his published sermons; but at the same time it is no less apparent that his judgment was as weak as his imagination was fertile, and that the emotion produced by his words must have been owing to their delivery alone. He is, besides, dreaming, mystical, sometimes puerile, often certainly not orthodox; but what pope would dare to condemn the doctrine of a saint? In what places he preached, what different countries he visited, we are not informed: we may, however, infer that he was often present in Sicily and France, no less than in Italy. He is said to have encouraged, even to have occasioned, the institution of Flagellants—an additional proof that his religious sentiments were morbid. In 1230, after filling for some years the office of provincial in Romagna, and founding several monasteries in different provinces, he obtained permission from the pope to resign his dignities, and to preach wherever he pleased. He repaired to Padua, where, during the Lent of 1231, he was daily in the pulpit and the confessional. Whatever effect his previous discourses might have had, here, we are told, it was greatly surpassed.* All Padua, with its clergy, monks, nuns, and bishops, hastened to hear him; and soon, all the towns and villages, for miles round, poured, their swarms, in solemn procession, often by torch-light, to the city. No church being able to contain the multitude, he was constrained to preach in the open fields, where 30,000 persons were daily assembled.† Great

* It is remarkable that about seven years ago a preacher, the Abbate Barbieri, appeared in the same city (Padua), who commanded an attention almost equal to that ascribed to the congregations of St. Antony. During the Lent of 1828 he held forth with equal effect at Florence. He is probably the most eloquent man in Europe.

† How could they all hear him? Very well, says the legend, even by those who were two miles distant; and what was equally miraculous, though there were auditors of different nations, all heard him in their own tongues.

The chronicler had evidently read Virgil: "Stabant omnes arrectis auribus, intentissimis perpetuo in virum Dei oculis, sine ullo tædio."

as was the concourse, not a sound, we are told, was to be heard; during the sermon the shops were shut; all business was suspended; and when the service was over, thousands flocked round him, happy if they could but touch his garment:—

> "The service past, around the pious man,
> With ready zeal each honest rustic ran;
> E'en children followed with endearing wile,
> And pluck'd his gown to share the good man's smile."

That Antony *was* a good man is evident from his life and works: he is assuredly not accountable for the monstrous fables which his detestable order has forged respecting him. After his death (June 13th, 1231), invention began to be busy. He had been a great preacher; his brethren resolved that he should be a saint; and one he was made before a year had elapsed from his mortal exit. Of the miracles related concerning him we give two or three samples, that the reader may have some idea alike of the daring knavery of the Franciscans, and of the lamentable credulity of the times.* While the saint was at Padua, two young men of Lisbon quarrelled; one killed the other, and as the deed took place near the garden of Antony's father, the murderer instantly buried the corpse there. A rigid enquiry into the fate of the deceased youth followed; the body was found; the parents and family of the saint were thrown into prison. "This the man of God knowing by the Spirit, asked the warden leave of absence, which was not denied him. That very night, being miraculously carried to Lisbon, he appeared, at day-break, before the corregidor, and desired that the innocent prisoners might be dismissed — a desire with which the judge showed no disposition to comply. Then the holy man ordered the corpse to be brought before him, and when it was, he adjured it to say whether his parents were the murderers. And the body, rising up, said that they were guiltless, and so

* Why need we say of *the times?* At this very day the pulpits of Italy and Portugal resound with the same nonsense.

they were liberated. And all that day the blessed man remained with his kindred, and the next, at break of day, was again in Padua, whither angels conveyed him."* The father of the saint — with reverence be it spoken! — appears to have been no better than one of the wicked. Being entrusted with a sum of money to pay some tradesmen of the royal household, he punctually satisfied their claims; but having no voucher or witnesses — there were no receipts in these days — they denied that it had been paid. In consequence, old Martin was cited before the judicial tribunal: what disgrace to the saint's family would have followed we know not, had he not been again whisked suddenly from Padua to Lisbon. Turning to the creditors one by one, Antonio said, with a severe countenance, — "Thou hast received thy money, at such a place, on such a day, and such an hour: deny it, and vengeance from above shall fall on thee!" Of course they confessed, and Martin was restored to good report. But what are these two miracles in comparison with that of the devout fish? Incensed with some heretics of Rimini, because they would not listen to the truth, one day, inspired by Heaven, he went to the mouth of that river on the Adriatic, and cried with a loud voice: — "Ye fishes of the sea and river, hear the word of the Lord, which heretics despise!" No sooner had he spoken than an immense multitude of fishes, of all species and sizes, from the whale† to the sprat, appeared at a convenient distance from the shore, raising their heads above the surface of the water, in the most rational manner possible. And this was not all: the different species were arranged in perfect rank and file, the smaller ones, as requiring the least water, occupying the van, while the grave, sage-looking heads of the great ones were stationed in the rear, in deeper parts.

* This monstrous fable is gravely related from the pulpit at this day by the Franciscans of both countries.

† The *whale* is our own embellishment, which we consider appropriate to such a legend.

Nay, with such reverence did they incline forward, that they might have been taken for pilgrims approaching the holy father: —

"All being thus admirably disposed, St. Antony began solemnly to address them. 'My finny brethren, much reason have ye to thank God, since he has given ye for an habitation so noble an element, sweet waters for some of ye, and salt water for others, according to your wants. He has given ye places of refuge from the fury of the tempest. Over your heads he has placed a limpid element that ye may choose your path, and avoid the net of the enemy; and he has provided ye with food necessary to life. At the creation he commanded ye to multiply. During the flood, when all other animals perished except those in the ark, he had mercy on you. He has provided you with fins, and endued you with strength, that you may go whithersoever you please. He commanded you to preserve Jonas his prophet, and after three days to spew him on dry land. You enabled our Lord Jesus Christ to pay Cæsar's due when he was too poor to possess a mite. Both before and after the resurrection, ye served as food to the Eternal King. Wherefore, my finny brethren, ye are bound to praise and bless God in that he has favoured you above all other animals.'"

At these words some of the fishes responded with their voices, — some, which could not speak, opened their mouths, and all reverently bowed their heads in praise of the Highest. Elated by their devotion, the saint cried with a loud voice, "Blessed be the Lord, in that the fishes of the sea honour him more than heretical men!" The heretics saw this, and were converted; nor were they less edified at witnessing the becoming way in which the finny tribe, at the close of the sermon, and when the *benedicite* was pronounced, retired into the deep waters. After these specimens, the existence of which the reader would probably not believe if we did not faithfully translate them for him, we take our leave of the missionary among the *finns*.*

Among its celebrated churchmen, Spain has two *Raymundos*. 1. *St. Raymundo of Peñafort*, a native of Barcelona (about 1180), was beyond doubt one of the most subtle intellects of an age replete with prodigies of scholastic erudition. His studies at Bologna in civil 1180.

* Wadingus, Annales Ordinis Fratrum Minorum, an. 1231. Anonymus, Vita S. Antonii, cap. i.—v. Surius de Probatis Sanctorum Vitis, Die Junii xiii. Bollandistæ, Acta Sanctorum (ejusdem diei). Fleury, Hist. Ecclés. lib. lxxix. et lxxx.

A multitude of miracles — all ejusdem generis, are recorded of this saint. Not the least quoted by Franciscan preachers is that in which, like Kehama, his body had the quality of ubiquity: while preaching at Padua, he was also seen and heard at Lyons, Rome, Paris, and other places.

and canon law procured him the degree of doctor, and a professor's chair. The bishop of Barcelona, hearing of his fame, drew him to his native city by the offer of a canonry, to which the archdeaconry was soon added. There seemed, indeed, no ecclesiastical dignity to which he might not aspire, since his virtues were equal to his learning, and his popularity to both. But in 1222 he showed that for such dignities he had no taste, by assuming the habit of the Dominicans. Previously he had been distinguished for his moderation; but with his new associates he could not fail to learn intolerance. It was through him that king Don Jayme el Conquistador sanctioned the establishment of the Inquisition by the Dominican friars, to exterminate heretics and relapsed Mohammedans. But for another institution which he was instrumental in forming, Raymundo must have the reverence of posterity. While he was at Barcelona, Pedro Nolasco, a gentleman of Languedoc, and a subject of Jayme, arrived there with the view of establishing an order for the redemption of Christian captives among the Moors. He entered warmly into the design, in which he interested his bishop; nor was there much difficulty in procuring the sanction of the king. In 1223, the order was solemnly instituted at Barcelona, Pedro being the first to receive the habit from the hands of the bishop. The constitutions were drawn up by Raymundo, and it was called the Order of Mercy for the Redemption of Captives.* It soon flourished, and in the sequel redeemed thousands from hopeless thraldom; redeemed them, too, from spiritual darkness, and restored them to their religion and country. If Raymundo had shunned dignities in one sphere of life, he found them in another. First he became the royal confessor, and as such he accompanied Don Jayme to the conquest of the Balearic Isles.

* In the History of Spain and Portugal, vol. iv. p. 286., we confounded this order with a similar one, that of the Trinity for the Redemption of Captives, founded by Felix de Valois and John de Matha. Identical as was the object of the two orders, and coeval as was their formation, we know not how we came to commit such an error.

Here it was, as we are gravely informed, that he performed one of the most celebrated miracles in Romish hagiology. Having incurred the royal anger, by reprobating, in strong terms, that royal vice, whoredom, he naturally wished to escape from it, by sailing immediately for the continent. But the king, aware of his intention, caused it to be proclaimed, that whoever furnished him with the means of transport should be severely punished. The saint, however, was in nowise dismayed. He went to the beach, threw his cloak on the water, stepped fearlessly on it, hoisted his staff by way of sail, and rode gloriously along to Barcelona. His fame was so widely spread that he was employed by the pope to draw up a new digest of canon law; a task which he executed with sufficient ability; and that soon afterwards he was elected (1237) to the highest dignity ambition could have wished — that of general of his Order. But he accepted it with regret, and in two years resigned it to retire to Barcelona. He was doubtless too fond of study and seclusion to have any wish for other honours than those of letters. — His works are numerous, and full of the erudition cultivated in these ages. His *Summa Raymundina*, a collection, or rather system of moral philosophy and dogmatic theology, has the praise of Nicolas Antonio. He died in 1275, leaving behind him a great reputation. We have no wish to record the numerous miracles which led to his canonisation, and which the Bollandists, in their usual manner, have industriously collected. — 2. *Raymundo Lully*, born in Majorca, about 1235, died 1315, has not yet obtained the honours of canonisation, though for some centuries a process to that effect has been pending at Rome. In his younger years, his situation as steward in the household of the king of Majorca, and an amorous temperament, inclined him, though married and the father of a family, to excesses which filled, as it inevitably would, his later years with remorse. Of his conversion something like a miracle is recorded. He was one night sitting in his

bedroom, in the act of penning "a sonnet to his mistress's eye-brow," when he saw — no doubt his conscience made him think he saw — our Saviour on the cross: he left the sonnet and went to bed. We are told that as often as he attempted to continue it, the same vision appeared. Convinced that it was the will of God he should labour for his glory, he sold his substance, beyond what was necessary for his family's support, and passed some time in pilgrimage. From the moment of his conversion it was his intention to preach among the Mohammedans; nor, though he was full thirty, and unacquainted with the rudiments of both Latin and Arabic, did these difficulties appal him. The former language he had opportunities enough of acquiring; a Moorish slave, whom he purchased, taught him the latter. This slave, having one day blasphemed Jesus Christ, and been chastised by his master for it, vowed revenge: he had soon an opportunity of plunging a knife into Raymundo's side; but before he could repeat the blow, his intended victim seized him, and committed him to prison. Raymundo knew not well what to do with the slave: he would not spill blood, yet he durst not release him, lest the murderous attempt should be repeated. "He had recourse to God, and was delivered from the wretch, who strangled himself in prison." Raymundo did not enter into any religious order, if we except the secular one of the Fratricelli, or Brethren of Penitence, which was the third of St. Francis: that he intended to found one himself for the conversion of the Moors, is apparent from his whole course of life. As nothing could be done without the reputation of sanctity, he retired to a hermitage, where he composed his first work, his *Ars Major*, or *Generalis*, — against the tenets of Moslem. It was followed by other treatises, all of a metaphysical and dogmatic nature; all showing great acuteness, great subtlety, but lamentable for their perverted ingenuity. Having prevailed on his king to found a convent for thirteen Friars Minor, where Arabic should be studied to qualify them for the

African mission, he went, in 1287, to Rome, hoping to procure the foundation of others in various parts of Christendom; but as Honorius was just dead, he proceeded to Paris, where, during two years, he explained before the doctors of that capital the principles of his *Ars Generalis*. Having subsequently translated some of his minor treatises — which are too numerous even to be mentioned—into Arabic, in 1291 he again visited Rome for the furtherance of the object he had so much at heart, but with as little success. Seeing that no aid was to be expected from a quarter where it ought to have been readily vouchsafed,—the court of Rome, during the middle ages, was more intent on its own aggrandisement than on the interests of religion,—he resolved to try what his own efforts would effect. His habits of study had made him believe, that the most mysterious points of Christian faith, even the Trinity and the Incarnation, were demonstrable by natural reason; indeed, to his own satisfaction at least, he had fully proved them; and he resolved that his divine art should not be lost on the Moors. In 1295, he landed at Tunis, and invited the most learned doctors to a conference. They readily produced such proofs as they could in favour of the divine origin of Islam, and, no doubt, he as readily refuted them: he added, "It is the part of wisdom to choose the faith which ascribes to the Deity the most goodness, power, glory, and perfection; which exhibits the most harmony between cause and effect; between the Creator and the creature." His reasonings on the Trinity and the Incarnation are said to have made an impression on his antagonists; some, we are told, would have submitted to baptism, had not one of the faquirs called on the king to interfere. At first it was intended to behead him; but this was overruled by a more moderate Moor, who inclined the council to expel him this time; and if he again set foot in the territory he was to be stoned. The remainder of his life was passed in fruitless efforts to prevail on popes and councils to espouse his views. At the council of

Vienne, indeed (1312), he procured the establishment of chairs for the Oriental languages,—Hebrew, Chaldee, and Arabic,—at Rome, Bologna, Paris, Salamanca, and Oxford; but he could not procure that of monasteries for the qualification of missionaries. The languages might indeed be taught in these five places; but would the students undertake so desperate a mission? He was now approaching his eightieth year, yet his ardour was not cooled: in 1314, he again landed near Tunis, sought out his former auditors, and confirmed them in their favourable sentiments. So long as he remained in obscurity he had little to fear; but instigated by the hope of martyrdom, he went into the great square of Bugia, and exposed with such right good will the abominations of Islam, that the people rose and stoned him. His body was taken to Majorca, where he is honoured as a saint. His character is drawn by himself:—Homo fui in matrimonio copulatus, prolem habui, competenter dives, lascivus et mundanus. Omnia, ut Dei amorem et bonum publicum possem procurare, et sanctam fidem exaltare, libenter dimisi. Arabicum didici; pluries ad prædicandum Sarracenis exivi, propter fidem captus fui, incarceratus, verberatus, quadraginta quinque annis ut ecclesiæ rectores ad bonum publicum et Christianos principes movere possem, laboravi. Nunc senex sum, nunc pauper sum, in eadem preposito sum, in eadem usque ad mortem mansurus, si Dominus ipse dabit." This great man deserves canonisation much better than ninety-nine out of every hundred in the Romish calendar—a calendar half filled with knaves and fools. He was no knave, and, except in his last mad act,—for there is surely madness in *provoking* one's death, when no good can possibly accrue,—he was no fool. His numerous works are prodigious monuments of ingenuity, however perverted; of subtlety, however misapplied. It was his misfortune to write on subjects the knowledge and perhaps the contemplation of which is forbidden to men: De Formâ Dei; de Convenientiâ quam habet Fides et Intellectus in Objecto; de Substantiâ et Accidente, *in*

quo probatur Trinitas; de Trinitate in Unitate, sive de Essentiâ Dei; de Ente Infinito; de Ente Absoluto; de Incarnatione; de Prædestinatione et Libero Arbitrio; De Conceptione Virginali, are a few of the more abstruse ones.*

Of minor saints we shall take no notice, and for further information respecting the church and religion of Spain, we refer to a preceding work.†

As to the *Intellectual* state of Christian Spain, from the descent of the Arabs to the expulsion of the Moors, we know not that we have any thing to add to what we have already written in the history of that country. Its *vernacular* literature may be satisfactorily referred to the twelfth century: it is therefore more ancient than any other in Europe, except the Gaya Ciencia of Provence. Its character is essentially national; and it is more deeply impressed with the spirit of the times than any other literature. In Spain, as in most other countries, the most ancient portion of that literature is poetry; yet homilies in the vulgar tongue would certainly have preceded the composition of verse: but the latter have perished, or they moulder in the dust of libraries; while some of the former have been brought to light by the judicious Sanchez. Let us hope that his example will be imitated by others, no less zealous for the literary glory of their country. At present we can only refer to what we have before written, or to the excellent work of Nicolas Antonio. Let no one credit that of Bouterwek, the most meagre, the most erroneous, and least intellectual of guides. Unfortunately he has led astray a great man, Sismondi, the Spanish portion of whose work on the Literature of Southern Europe is unworthy of his high fame. Before any man can write on the literature, he must be deeply acquainted

* Leander Albertus, Vita S Raymundi de Pennaforte, p. 405, &c. Clemens VIII. Papa, Bulla de Vitâ, Miraculis et Canonizatione S. Raymundi, cap. i.—xii. Michaelis Scot. de Gestis et Miraculis ejusdem Sancto, cap. i.—v. Wadingus, Annales Fratrum Minorum, an. 1315. Bollandistæ, Acta Sanctorum, Diebus Januarii vii. et Junii xxx. Nicolas Antonio, Bibliotheca Vetus, lib. viii. cap. 4. et lib. ix. cap. 2. Fleury, Histoire Eccléa. tom. xviii. et xix.

† History of Spain and Portugal, vol. iv. passim.

with the history, and, above all, with the best libraries, of that country; there he must pass many years, and no idle years, in ransacking its best collections. Little wonder that the enlightened, philosophic Italian, still less that the stupid German should have issued such inadequate productions into the world. But we do not excuse them; they ought either not to have written on the subject at all, or to have written on it only where they could have done justice to it. We fear the desideratum is not likely to be supplied; for though Bouterwek, with numerous corrections and additions, is in the course of translation into the Spanish language, by two literati at Madrid, it is on too small a scale to convey a sufficient idea of Spanish intellect. We want some one who unites the indefatigable industry of the Mohedanos with the erudition of a Nicolas Antonio, and the criticism of a Masdeu. Where or when will such a writer be found?

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